Saturday Review

January 11, 1964 25¢

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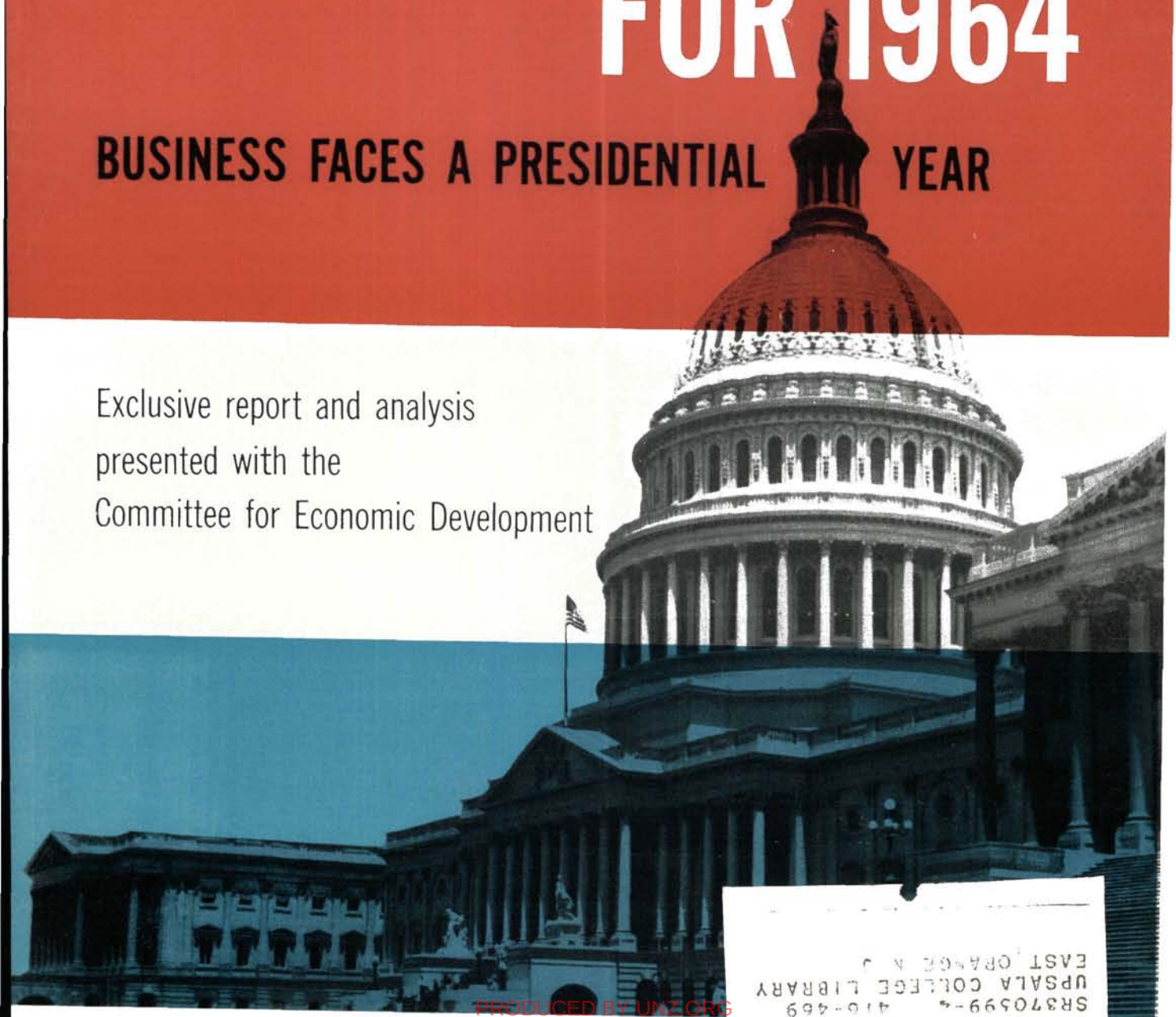
NATIONAL AGENDA FOR 1964

BUSINESS FACES A PRESIDENTIAL YEAR

Exclusive report and analysis
presented with the
Committee for Economic Development



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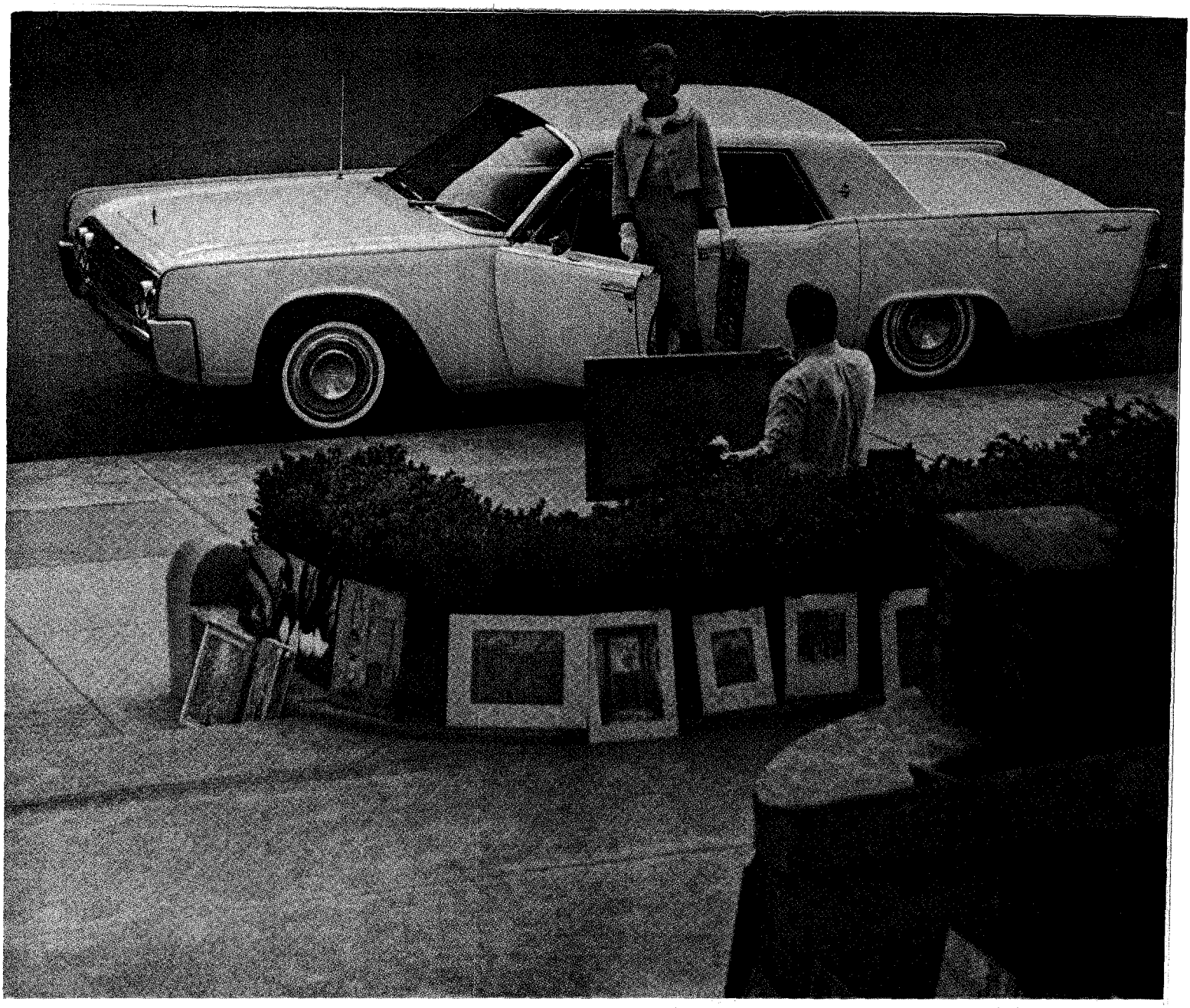

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After World War II, everyone was sensitive to the fact that the veterans didn't want to talk about It. Someone—perhaps it was Max Shulman—started the rueful rumor that not a few GIs were becoming emotionally unhinged because they *did* want to talk about it and couldn't find anyone who would listen.

In a new book, a good man named Harold Bond does get to tell his story and in a most poignant and unusual setting. In the winter of 1944, Lieutenant Bond was sent up as replacement officer to fight in one of the fiercest sieges of the war. The battle was for Monte Cassino, the abbey and the town. A prize lay beyond them: the road to Rome. But before they got to that city, 5000 graves would mark the price of passage.

Years later, Bond took his wife and four daughters on a trip abroad. He had done his doctoral dissertation on the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* and now he had a fellowship to write a biography of Gibbon. They traveled, enjoying themselves, through the rich, spring countryside and as they drew nearer Monte Cassino, Bond grew more and more aware of the contrast between that bright moment and the gray, freezing time when he had last seen the abbey.

Writing plainly and clearly, he re-tells the story of the family's trip and within it, the story he told them of his first travels in Italy. The book is called *Return to Cassino.*

Near the end, as he watches his daughters chase each other, laughing and splashing down a beach north of Anzio, he writes that he "knew they could never fully understand, and I was just as glad they could not."

L. L. Day

EDITOR-AT-LARGE

Return to Cassino: A Memoir of the Fight for Rome ($3.95) by Harold L. Bond is published by Doubleday & Company, Inc., 575 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. Copies may be obtained from your own bookseller or from The Old Corner Book Store, 46 Bromfield Street, Boston 7, Mass.

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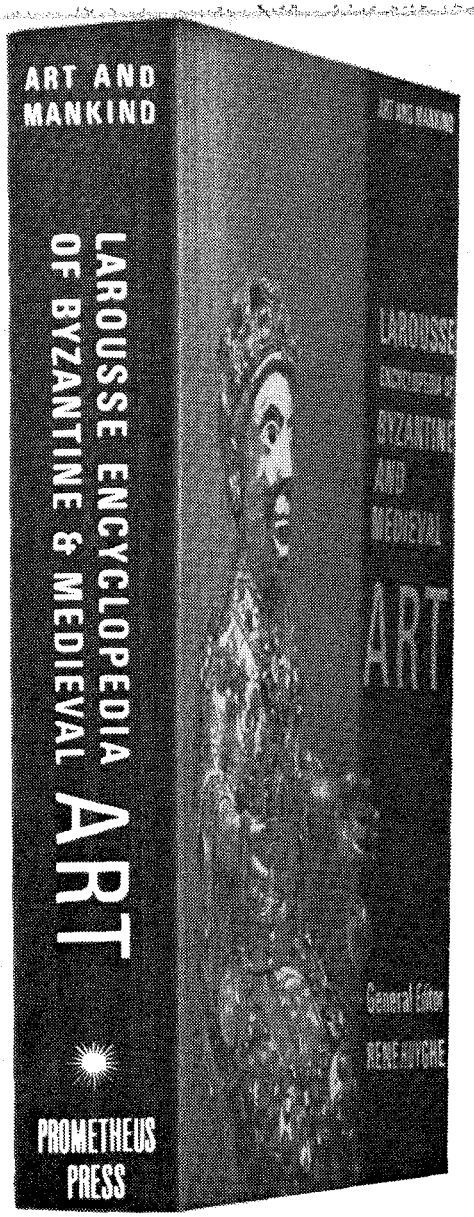

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AS MCGRAW-HILL REPORTS,
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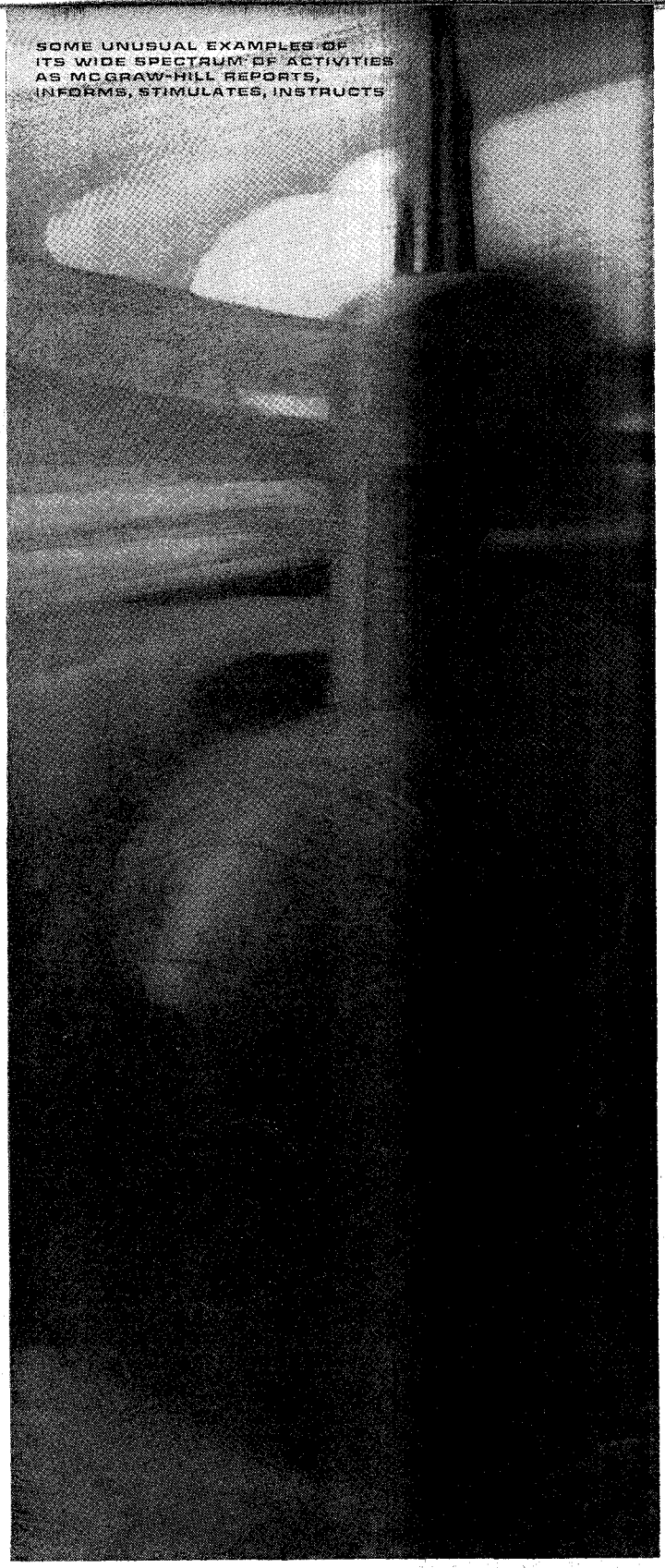

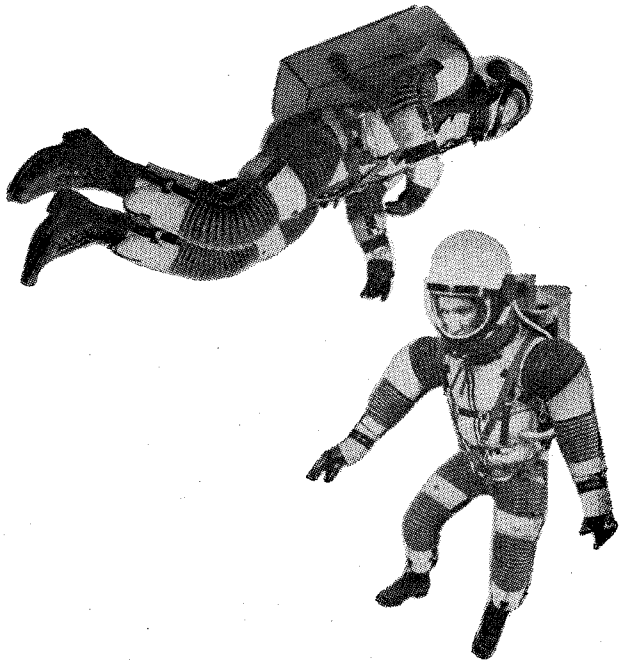

THE DEPTHS The nuclear submarine *Tullibee* has sonar equipment so sensitive it can hear and identify spoken commands in another sub several miles away. An editor from McGraw-Hill's NUCLEONICS magazine experienced this eerie eavesdropping one day while he researched a feature article on our nuclear Navy, called "must reading" by top Navy brass.

THE HEIGHTS Putting a man on the moon is the job of Project Apollo. Keeping the aerospace industry informed about it is one job of McGraw-Hill's AVIATION WEEK & SPACE TECHNOLOGY. Its editors devoted a recent issue to this and other manned space flights, moon bases and interplanetary travel. It took twelve editors two months, filled 136 pages.

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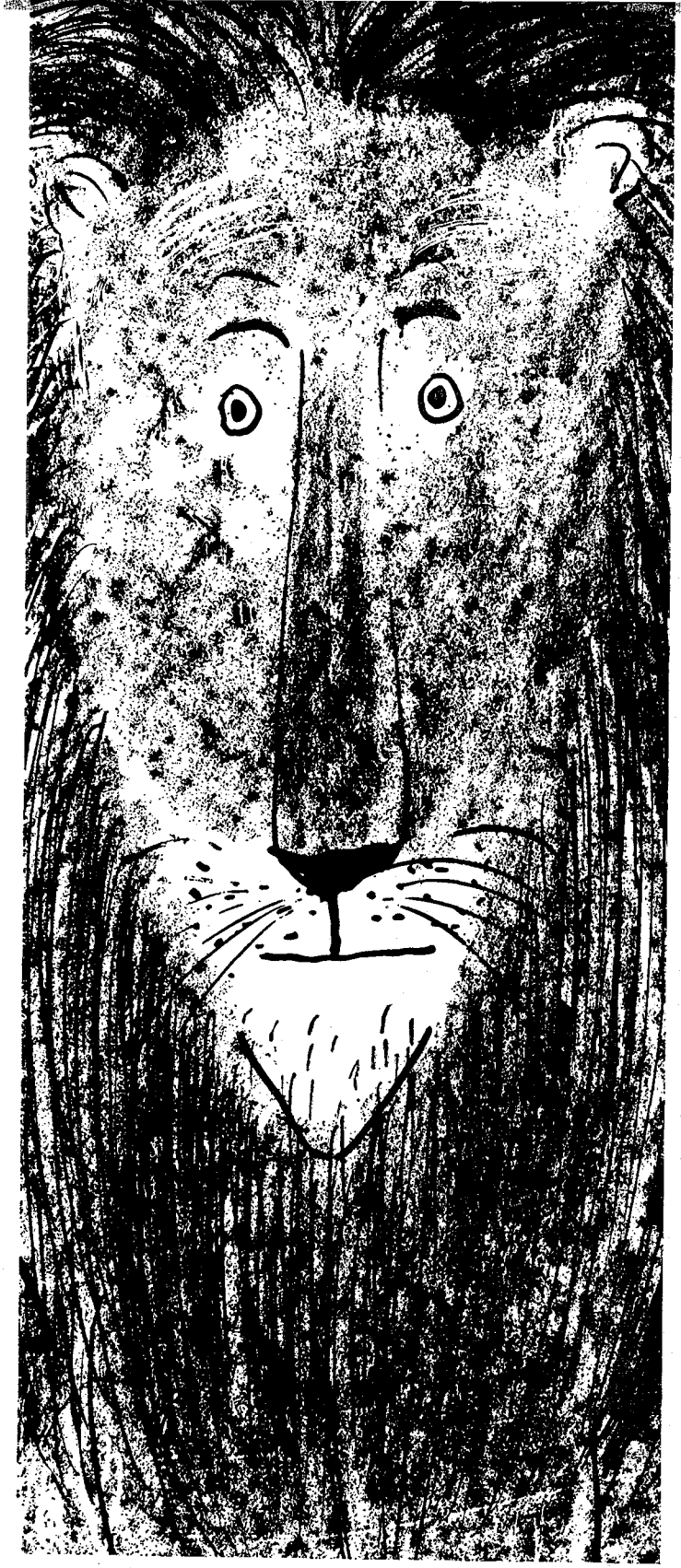

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Winter's Tales

Edited by Martin Levin

Almanac

When frosty January comes
We call for boots and gaiters;
It petrifies our teeth and gums
And clangs our radiators.
It offers gusts of wind and sleet
That fag our thermostats,
And brings us frozen ears and feet,
And women's Easter hats.

WILLIAM W. PRATT.

Hey Doc, What You Got In That Little Bag?

FELLA I know, interesting sort of fella, came up to me last Wednesday afternoon at 2:23 by the clock, right near the Methodist Church on East Main, and said:

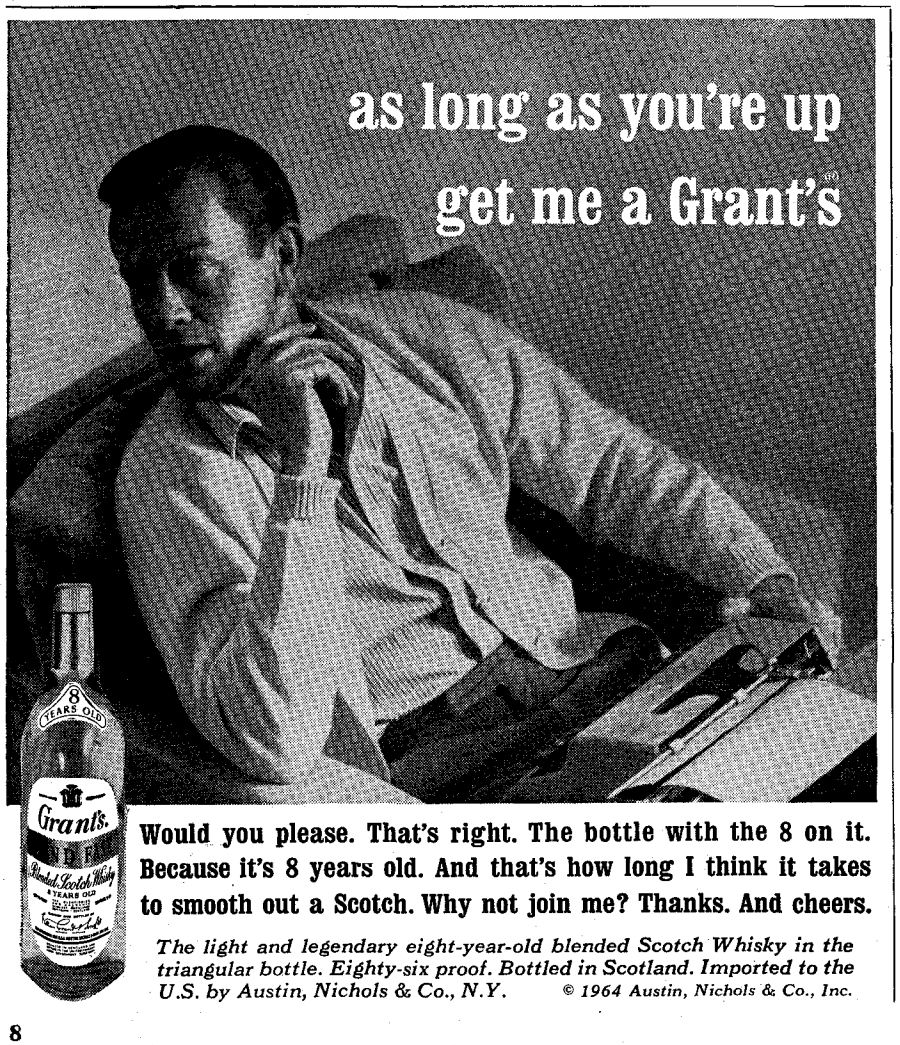
"Know what all a doctor's got in that bag he carries around?"

"No," I said. "What?"

"Morphine sulfate," he said, "codeine phosphate, stethoscope, acetylsalicylic acid, sphygmomanometer, percussion hammer, analgesic ear drops, phenobarbital, otoscope-ophthalmoscope, paraldehyde, procaine penicillin, streptomycin, sulfonamide preparation, tourniquet, measuring tape, water for injection U.S.P. whatever the hell that means, two thermometers, two syringes, antihistaminic, nitroglycerin for sublingual use, needles, tongue depressors, cotton applicators, amyl nitrate, a synthetic antispasmodic, quinidine sulfate, scissors for bandages, adhesive tape, sterile gauze pads, gauze bandage, elastic bandage, digitalis preparation, mercurial diuretic, caffeine and sodium benzoate, aromatic spirits of ammonia, rubber gloves, analeptic, atropine sulfate, epinephrine, flashlight for dark nights, amonophylline, dihydroergotamine, rubber drain, splinter forceps, apomorphine, obstetrical pituitrin, wide-mouthed specimen bottle, prescription pad, tetanus antitoxin, catheter, scalpel, and this don't count what he's got in his pockets. How *about* that?"

I had to say something. I said, "Who'd a thought!"

—H. ALLEN SMITH.



Would you please. That's right. The bottle with the 8 on it. Because it's 8 years old. And that's how long I think it takes to smooth out a Scotch. Why not join me? Thanks. And cheers.

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Marmot Day

SANTY CLAUS has come and gone, New Year's Eve *seems* to have come and gone (it exists only in our heads), and next thing we know it will be February 2nd, Groundhog Day. Is it not time to ask ourselves—how much do we really know about groundhogs?

First, the name "groundhog" is a mistake. Groundhogs are actually woodchucks, but the name "woodchuck" is a mistake, too. When the early settlers in this country first glimpsed these marmots (that's what groundhogs really are, is marmots), they turned to some Algonquin Indians crouching nearby and asked, "What do you call those creatures yonder?" The Indians replied, "Call them, Hiawatha's wejacks." The whites thought the Indians, whose mouths were probably full of cranberries at the time, had said "woodchucks," so "woodchucks" it became. The Algonquins, seeing that they had been misunderstood, walked disconsolately back to their houses, which were called "wickiups" and contained no furniture other than a few round tables, and one of the first Nature Study courses in our country's history ended, as do many experiments in education, with highly questionable results.

The woodchuck-groundhog-wejack-marmot, which is a relative of the squirrel, is found from Labrador and Nova Scotia, south to Alabama, west to Kansas, in the north through Minnesota and Central Canada to the Rockies, if you know where to look. It has a wide "distribution," in other words, but nice legs, and extremely coarse hair. The woodchuck eats a few insects and now and then a snail, but he is picky, and mostly herbivorous, and has a partiality for clover. When you see a woodchuck carting a lot of grass into his house, which is called a burrow, you may be sure he is making himself a bed, not a snack. He is a very tidy little body, as we would discover if, by some magic, we could make ourselves small enough to go down and inspect his burrow. Watch your head. He makes, we find, separate rooms in his house for the deposit of his own waste, which is known as "woodchuck waste." Later, when he gets a

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The Land-Rover Concours d'Elegance Entry for 1964

One imagines they're worried sick over at the Brand X Limousine Division.

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minute, he may carry this to the surface and bury it in a mound of earth, or—it depends—he may leave it below, sealing it off with a dirt wall. In a single woodchuck burrow there may be a half-dozen or more of these "mystery" rooms. When a woodchuck gets tired of one burrow, or finds it too utterly mysterious, he chucks it and moves on to new digs.

Let us crawl back out now (I suggest you wipe your feet) and see what we can find out about that coarse hair. Our

forefathers occasionally used woodchuck pelts, but they weren't satisfied with them. Back home in Europe they had had access to the soft fur of the Alpine marmot. There is a woodchuck in Alaska with a full and fairly soft coat—it is actually a hoary marmot—but back in those days to have gone that far for free full fair fur would have been unspeakable, and still is unless you have two lower lips.

It is possible, though disgusting, to eat woodchucks, but you must first remove the small, reddish kernels called "scent glands." Then you must let the meat stand overnight in salt water, under a full moon. As with any other food, the more woodchuck you eat, the larger your shadow. Which brings us to this strange business of the groundhog's seeing his shadow on February 2nd. According to the legend, if he sees his shadow we will have six more weeks of winter, or, in Leap Year, twenty-nine. The whole idea is obviously unscientific. What of the unobservant groundhog? What of the myopic groundhog? What of the presbyopic or stigmatic or episcopalic groundhog? Not to mention all the sick, ailing, rundown groundhogs, who even on the sunniest of days would see only a shadow of their *former* selves?

—HAYES B. JACOBS.

No Doubt About It

"Go look it up if you don't know"
Sounds simple in the telling:
The simple reason I don't go?
I don't know I'm misspelling.

—GLADYS B. CUTLER.

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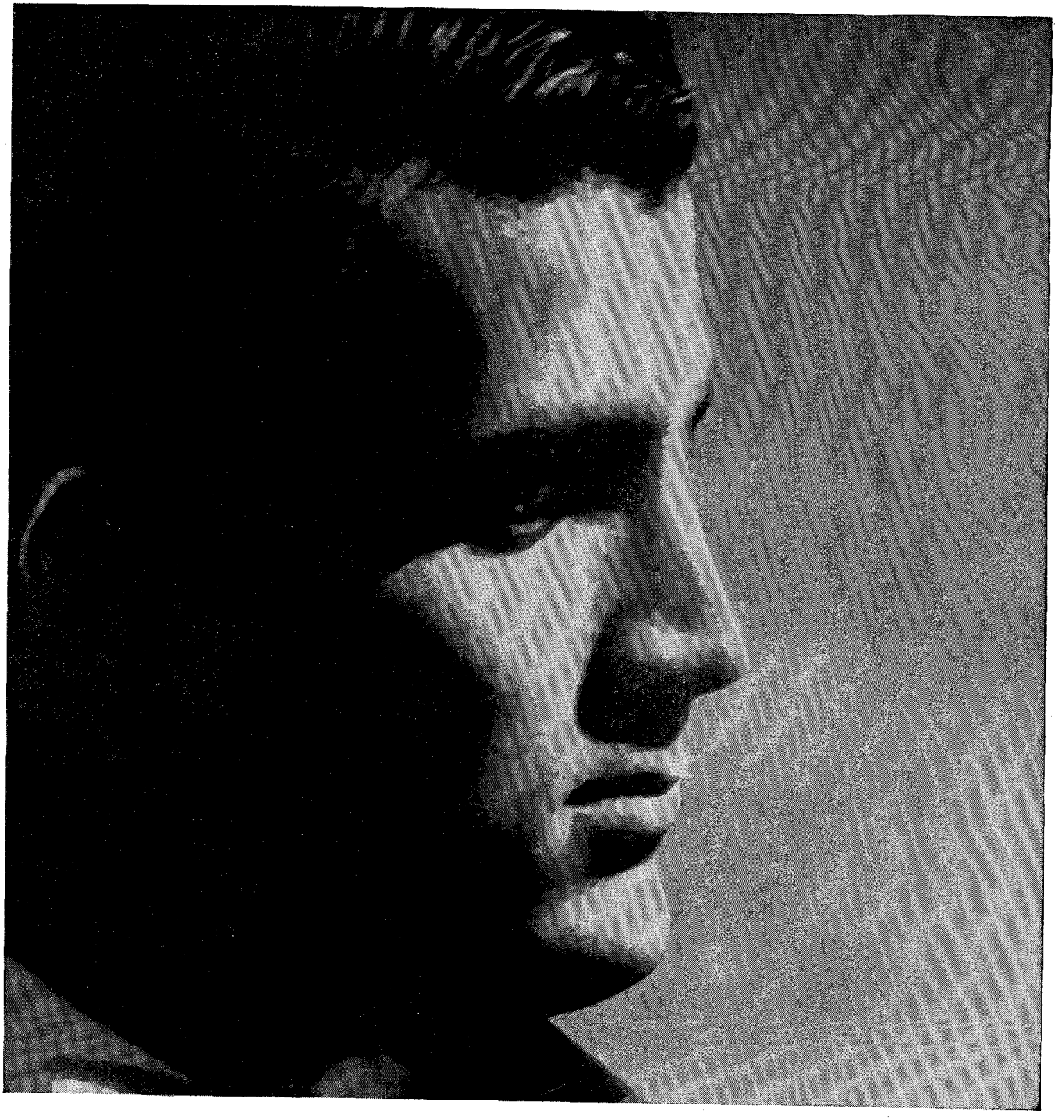

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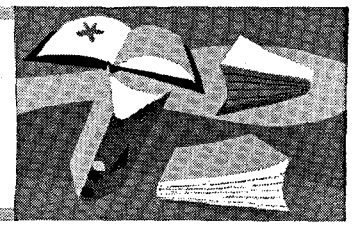

Leave it to Art Buchwald to start a whole new trend. Not too long ago, he decided to review his own recent book, *I Chose Capitol Punishment* (World, $3.95), in his syndicated newspaper column. The results are not unworthy of Mr. Buchwald's talents.

"I have read my book from cover to cover," he writes, "with relish and delight. I am amazed how I have managed to capture on paper the drama, the mystery, the heartbreak that is Washington. 'Where have I been hiding?' I keep asking myself. . . . If we are to find any fault with the book, it is that the author quotes too liberally from the *Congressional Record*—so what should have been a serious book sounds in many places like a farce. But why carp? The book is in this reviewer's humble opinion the best book to be published this year. I couldn't put it down."

Not wanting to fight this trend, we invited a couple of other recent authors to review *their* own books, in the quiet hope that perhaps all critics could eventually be replaced by the authors themselves. Richard Armour, author of *Through Darkest Adolescence* (McGraw-Hill, $3.95), has responded admirably:

"When I sat down to review my book," he writes, "I reached at once for my thesaurus, thinking to look up synonyms for 'delightful,' 'ingenious,' and 'incomparable.' Then I remembered that my teen-age daughter had borrowed it and lent it to a friend who shortly afterwards moved away. . . . The book is a delight from cover to cover. It holds up surprisingly well, the back cover being fully as good as the front cover. I wrote this book not with a typewriter, since I did not wish to awaken my daughter, who sleeps late, but with a pen which I dipped from time to time in a handy vein in my hand. Critics who say the book was written in a humorous vein are only guessing. *Through Darkest Adolescence* carries on from where Dr. Spock gave up, being unable to face what comes after early childhood. It deserves a place on everyone's bedside table, especially everyone who deserves a nightmare."

Max Wilk, author of the recent *Help! Help! Help! or Atrocity Stories from All Over* (Macmillan, $4.95), is never one to shrink from such a demanding task. Fearlessly, he begins his own review:

"With his latest book, Max Wilk has done it again," he writes, without establishing exactly what that means. "This collection of barbs should induce in its many readers waves of laughter mingled with empathetic sobs and curses. For Wilk has dared to document the ghastly relationship between modern-day 'servants' and their 'employers' with a series of episodes and anecdotes, all factual, and stitched them together with an acid commentary that should certainly win for him the award for the Ill-Tempered Humorist of the Year.

"On the literary level, it is questionable whether the book will earn its author a pinpoint on *Esquire*'s 1964 map of the Red Hots, but on a people-to-people basis, Wilk is home free. His diabolically apt broadside should bring tears of therapeutic laughter to the eyes of thousands of American kitchen slaveys [translation, Mr. Wilk adds, is Mrs. American Homemaker] and, for a reasonable price, a couple of hours' release from pent-up hostilities. What psychiatrist can match *that* offer?"

On the serious side, we talked with one author about his forthcoming book, which will not be published until March. But preliminary stirrings seem to indicate that it will be one of the most talked-about of the spring season. The book is Vance Packard's newest, *The Naked Society,* which David McKay is issuing. Enthusiasm for its potential is so great that the first printing will be 75,000 copies, the largest first edition of any of Mr. Packard's books. It explores the alarming and growing trend toward the invasion of privacy and pulls no punches in assessing the situation.

In talking with Mr. Packard, we found him personally most disturbed about the increasing use of the polygraph in screening job applicants.

"I watched several of these lie-detector interviews in different places through two-way mirrors," Packard told us. "And I have to admit I was deeply shocked. Here were normal and healthy applicants who were undergoing a third degree usually reserved for criminals."

In his book Mr. Packard will detail one of these cases. He will describe how the applicant is strapped with accordionlike rubber tubing, blood-pressure pulse band, and electrodes to check the sweating of palms and muscular move-

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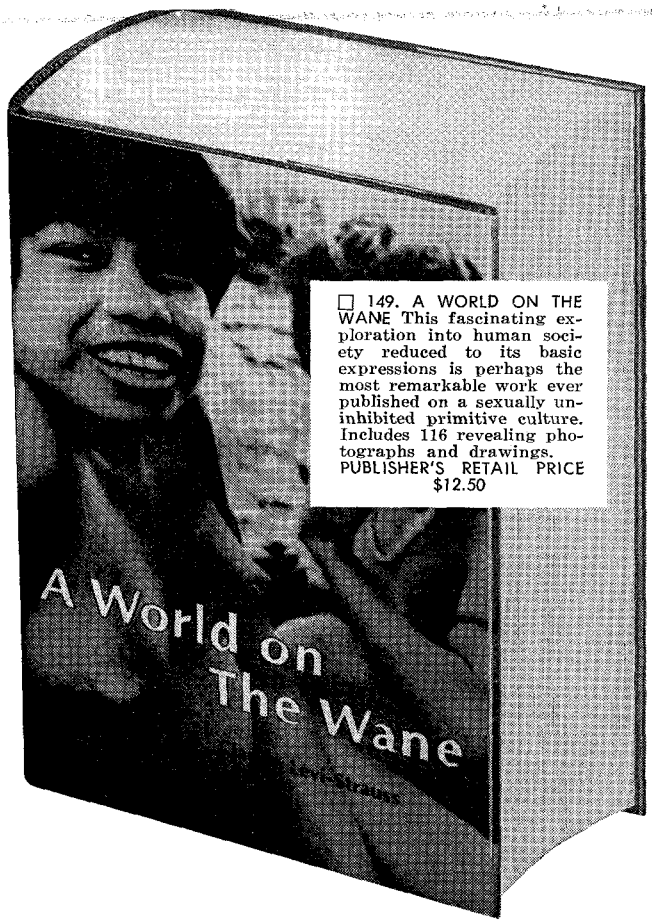

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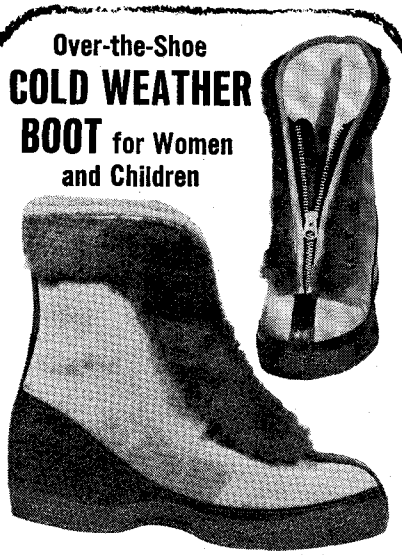

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ment. Most cynical of the questions Mr. Packard will describe is one which is termed by the examiners "a deliberate jolter."

The examiner begins: "Now Bill, I'm going to have to ask you a very embarrassing question. . . . Bill, have you ever . . . [long pause, while the needles flutter to high peaks] . . . "I guess that won't be necessary, Bill." This jolter is supposed to test the applicant's "total reaction capability," whatever that means.

But more shocking than that is a case in which the examiner threw a question out of left field *after* the polygraph test was discontinued. "Bill, one more question before you leave. Are you inclined to be a homosexual?" After the young man denied such an inclination, the examiner turned in a report to the employer indicating that this aspect of his character should be watched, since the applicant had done some work in the theatre in the Midwest.

Mr. Packard will conclude this part of the observation with: "Most, if not all, of the derogatory points he reported on Bill came not from anything on the polygraph charts but were based on facts discussed while the machine was not turned on!"

The title of this chapter is, appropriately, "How to Strip a Job Seeker Naked."

We have been faced with a rash of official notices recently which have taken considerable time to decipher. But even with intense study we are not at all sure what they mean. For instance, Willis H. Moore, an associate pastor in Brunswick, Georgia, sends along a notice he found on a radio set in an appliance department: "This radio uses a long life pilot lamp that may stay on for a short time if radio is turned off before radio warms up and starts to play."

And right here at *SR* we struggled with this notice for a considerable time: "Because the Christmas and New Year holidays come on Wednesdays, the issues of January 4 and 11 will close on Friday, December 20 and Friday, December 27, instead of the usual Mondays."

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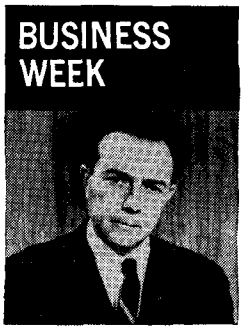

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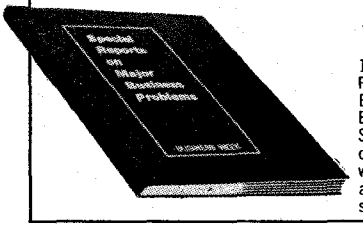

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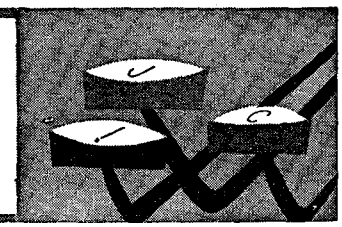
Manner of Speaking



Choose Something Like a Star: I was reading James Baldwin's *Another Country* a while ago and finding myself appalled as I usually am by the world and the population of Baldwin's imagination. Do any of his characters really like one another? Is love always tooth-and-claw warfare between two self-trapped psyches? Does everyone in the known world lust heterosexually and homosexually for the bodies of Negroes? Baldwin seems to assume in his writing that the only possible answer to the first question is no, and that the only possible answer to the second and third is yes, and I must confess that I find myself unable to accept his premises.

Do not misunderstand. I did not say I could not understand them. One cannot help but be aware of the agony of the Negro artist and intellectual. Clearly, the world puts upon that man more than any world should put upon any man. Nor can one help but sense that our affluent and easy age is hungry for any sort of experience it can call primal, though what the fashionable reader seems to want as his example of the primal is simple violence. Readers, after all, are intellectuals of some sort, and our intellectuals lean readily to the view that they have been separated from the blood and sweat of first things. They become uneasy in that view and tend, therefore, to welcome the writer who gives them what might pass as first things, even if it turns out to be no more than the tortures of self-mangling.

"Searing . . . violent . . . brilliantly and fiercely told," says the jacket of the paperback, quoting the *New York Times*. Such are the praises our critics heap on Baldwin, and he has earned them all. But is such praise a whole praise? The critics, to be sure, have always tended to be especially generous to Negro writers and for understandable reasons. But in the long run, I must insist, there must be no Negro writers, but only men as other men and committed to all men. As Baldwin's great talent grows, I shall hope his panhuman commitment will allow him to see that however many snake pits this world breeds, there is still in it the dream of a greensward. Nor am I asking him to climb the Negro Calvary only to play Pollyanna at the top. I am simply saying that an artist, whatever his color, creed, or other commitments, must walk more than a jungle, though jungle he must walk through. And most of what I am thinking focuses on a single paragraph in *Another Country*, a paragraph in which Baldwin describes the reactions of the homosexual Eric on his return from France to New York:

> This note of despair, of buried despair, was insistently, constantly struck. It stalked all the New York avenues, roamed all the New York streets; was as present in Sutton Place, where the director of Eric's play lived and the great often gathered, as it was in Greenwich Village, where he had rented an apartment and been appalled to see what time had done to the people he had once known well. He could not escape the feeling that a kind of plague was raging, though it was officially and publicly and privately denied. Even the young seemed blighted—seemed most blighted of all. The boys in their blue jeans ran together, scarcely daring to trust one another, but united like their elders in a boyish distrust of the girls. Their very walk, a kind of anti-erotic, knee-action lope, was a parody of locomotion and of manhood. They seemed to be shrinking away from any contact with their flamboyant and paradoxically outlined private parts. They seemed—but could it be true? and how had it happened? —to be at home with, accustomed to, brutality and indifference, and to be terrified of human affection. In some strange way they did not seem to feel they were worthy of it.

I submit this paragraph as moving writing, as true to the character, as partially true of the subject—and as just a bit too fashionable to be entirely convincing. When a writer begins to have ready to hand all the sentiments of the sociologists on the TV panels, he may just possibly be in danger of having sold himself a bill of goods. In any case, I submit that despair of this order has to be in the observer first, and that only then can it be attributed to the subject. And I further submit that, true as this view may be in part, there is something missing from it.

As one evidence of what I think is missing from it, I submit the following excerpt from Mark Harris's introduction to his play *Friedman and Son*. Harris is describing his reactions to the audience that turned out to see his play in San Francisco:

> People came as they were, and I was vastly encouraged to learn, at the cost of only my ears, that the best audience was precisely that literary audience which has always rescued me from discouragement—people whose habit it is to impose imaginative connections upon reality's disconnections, who hear beyond the word, sense the truth beyond the proof, know that every act is symbol, move with practiced speed at the pace of the best compression, and in the end respect all craft sufficiently to look twice before judging once.

Harris's perception, I shall daresay, is at least as much of this world as is Baldwin's. In sympathy with Baldwin's devoted efforts as a pamphleteer, and in admiration of his power as a novelist, I am yet moved to wonder if Baldwin's pamphlets might not be more effective and his novels more persuasive could he persuade himself to remember that all writing is, finally, to some part of that audience Harris describes, and even that that audience exists, though imperfectly, and that it exists in something beyond the fashions of easy-come desperation. By this I hope I may be understood to imply no censure of desperation that is real. I am suggesting only that habit is blindness and that it can be more dangerously led by a fashionable inclination to cheer all that sears and moans.

These two worlds to live in, then, and between them I am reminded of Robert Frost:

> So when at times the mob is swayed
> To carry blame or praise too far
> We may choose something like a star
> To stay our minds on and be staid.

Moved by good advice, let me conclude with something like a star, or from the stars, or at least from the planet, this *Astronomy:*

> It is curious how even the most everyday incidents are intimately related to the large-scale aspects of the Universe. The darkness of the sky at night is one example. The winds are another. The winds have a general prevailing direction from west to east. . . . The meteorologist explains this in terms of the Earth's rotation. . . . If the earth rotated the opposite way the winds would blow from east to west, and the East Coast of the U.S. would then have a climate like Mediterranean Europe, N.W. Europe would be frozen out, and the British Isles would take up a climate similar to that of Kamchatka.
>
> Although there is little doubt that these prognostications would prove correct, the argument—good enough as it is for ordinary purposes—does not pass muster in a strict logical test. It is not really correct to talk of a body spinning around. There is no such thing as spin pure and simple. We can talk with precision of a body spinning around *relative* to something or other, but there is no such thing as absolute spin.

—John Ciardi.

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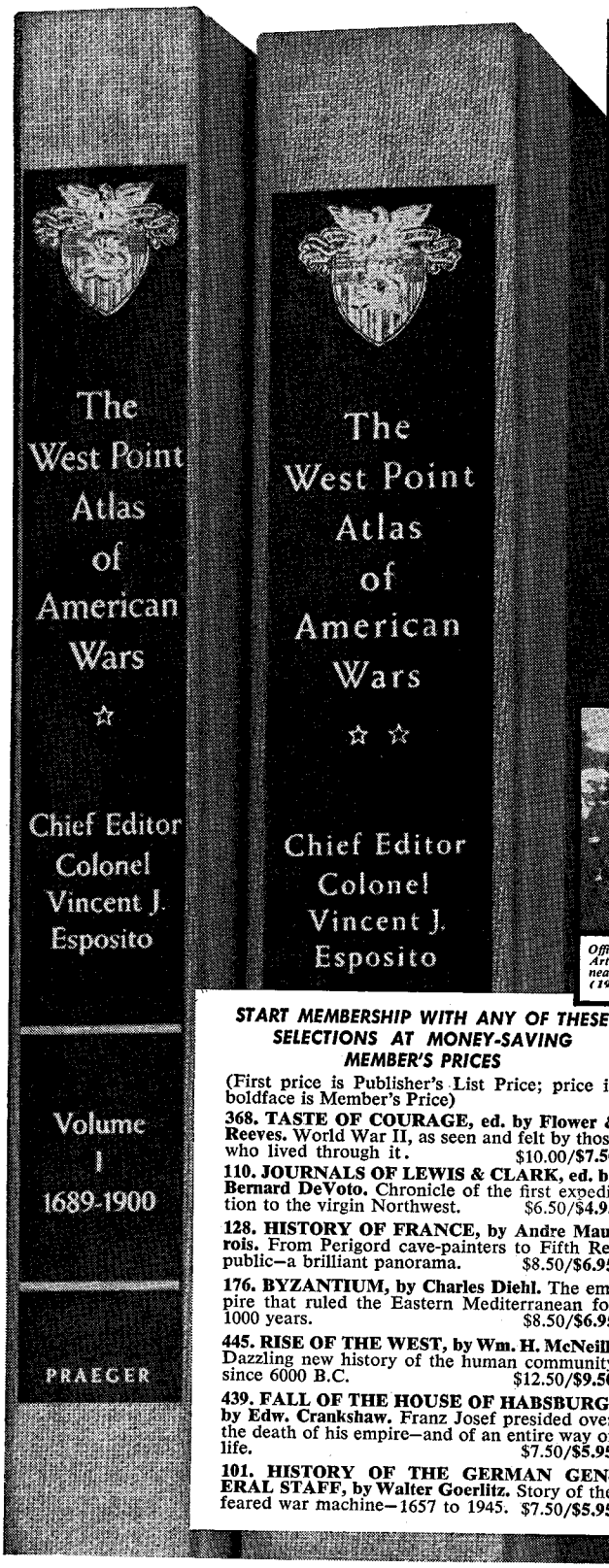
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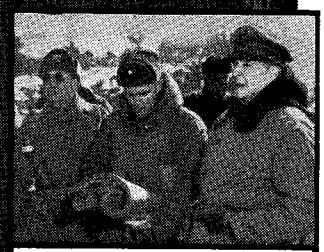

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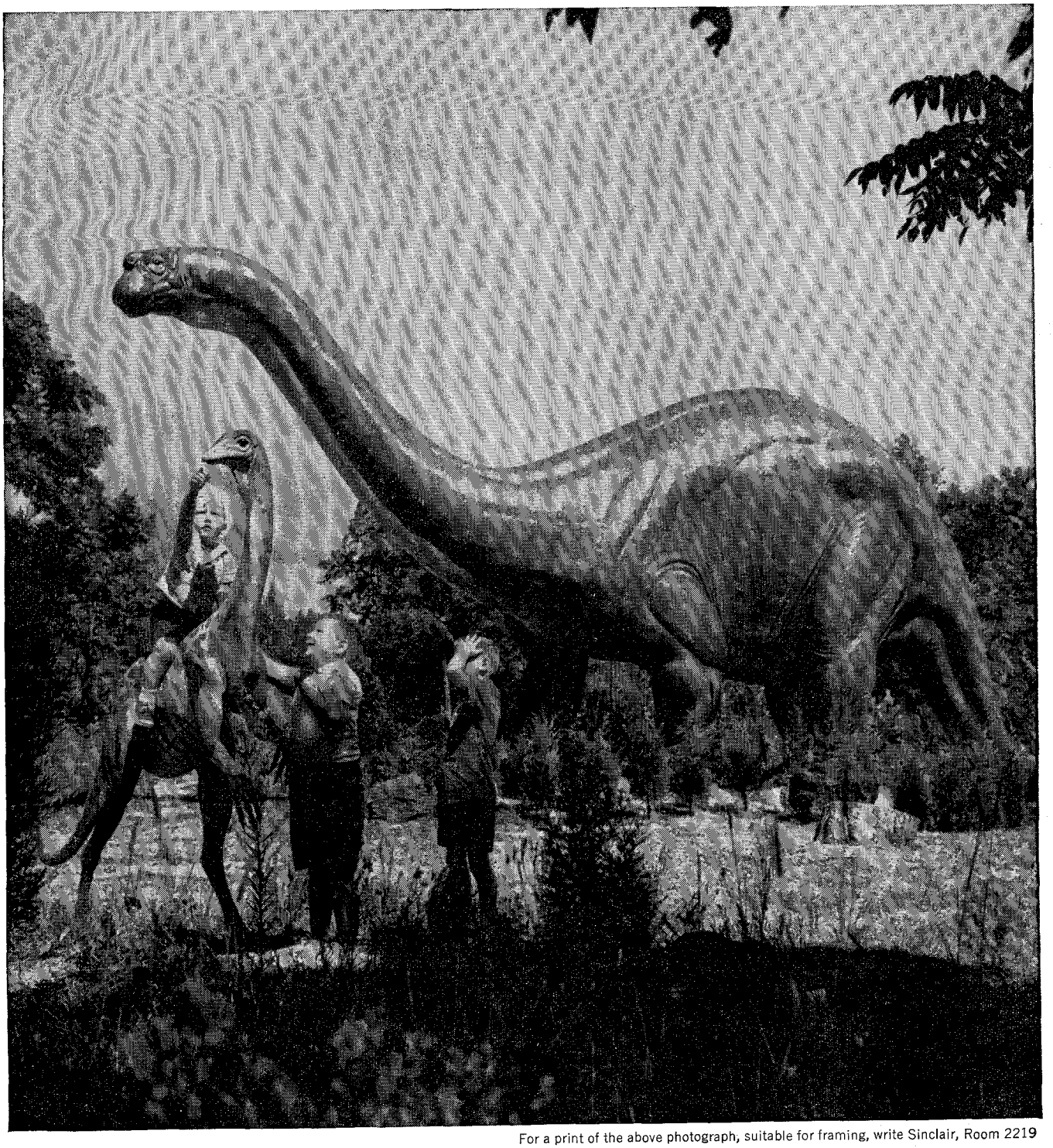

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Saturday Review

January 11, 1964

BUSINESS FACES A PRESIDENTIAL YEAR

NATIONAL AGENDA FOR 1964

Exclusive Report and Analysis

Presented with the Committee for Economic Development

THE Committee for Economic Development, in cooperation with the editors of *Saturday Review*, presents herewith its annual survey. This is the sixth year that CED has joined with this magazine in preparing a special business issue. In the five previous years the issues have concentrated on a particular economic topic as it had been discussed at the annual meeting of CED trustees—the Pacific and the world economy, collective bargaining, the Soviet economy, the Common Market—and all of them have dealt with unfinished business, for the task of properly managing our economy is never done. We must keep at it continually, seeking new ways or new applications of old ways to improve the functioning of our democratic system of government and our ideal of private enterprise.

The national rededication that has followed the tragic events of last November gives special urgency to the issues considered in the following pages.

Work on the various articles was started well before the assassination of President Kennedy. But they were written with the future of our country in mind. And, dealing as they do with major economic problems, they represent something of a national agenda for 1964.

The impact of these problems on jobs and education, as on economic growth generally, reaches out to

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affect vitally such other issues as civil rights. Thus we have a special need to make the choices that must be made in a national election year with a renewed awareness of the challenges that face a democratic society in a complex and dangerous period.

Although CED is a committee of business leaders (and some educators), it does not pretend to represent the "business community" as such. Instead, it tries to speak out responsibly on behalf of the welfare of the general public on the pressing economic problems of the day. In doing this it has the help of the best minds, in the various fields it enters, that great universities of America can supply. Thus its product—in the form of statements on national policy—is a melding of the practical and the academic mind. As a nonprofit educational institution, it does not lobby before Congress for passage or defeat of specific legislation. Rather, its purpose is to educate the public and the opinion makers, in and out of government, in whose hands lie the ultimate task of forming national policy.

History, I think, shows that CED has had some effect upon the economic thinking of the country in the twenty-one years of the committee's existence. It helped materially in creating the business climate that, at the end of World War II, forestalled a postwar depression (which many people had felt was inevitable). It led in proposing guidelines for a workable postwar tax program. It played a part in bringing about the Marshall Plan—and gave its first chairman, Paul Hoffman, to head the EEC. It helped bring about the Employment Act of 1946. It has worked for tax reform, for a better program for American agriculture, for better national education programs, for international economic programs, for freer trade and lower tariffs, for greater development of our urban areas—to mention only a few of the economic regions it has entered.

Last spring, on the occasion of CED's twentieth anniversary, the late President John F. Kennedy addressed 300 CED trustees and their guests. He said: "I was particularly anxious to come to this meeting . . . because I have been impressed through a good many years of public life, in the House, the Senate, and most recently in the Presidency, by the very firm commitment to the public interest which this organization has displayed.

"Because your concern for the public interest has been so consistent and obvious, it seems to me that perhaps more attention is paid to the deliberations of the CED than almost any other organization dealing with national problems. This is an enviable reputation, one which you continue to guard, and, therefore, it has, it seems to me, been rewarded by the response which this organization receives from the public and from public officials.

"Many organizations seem to feel that government can only help in the economy by reducing its influence and its participation. The CED has long recognized government's inescapable obligation and contribution, and that federal monetary and fiscal policies can and must supplement the decisions of the market place in determining the course of the economy; that interest rates must be adjusted up and down; budgets into deficits and surpluses to fit the needs of the time. . . .

"Your programs and publications have helped bring about a fundamental change in the economic understanding of the nation in general, and of its business community in particular, and I believe that all Americans owe you a vote of thanks for your leadership."

This tribute sums up, I think, what CED has tried its best to do in the past. I think, also, that this spirit will be quite apparent in the articles by CED trustees published herein. They touch on a number of topics that will echo in the halls of Congress and fill the columns of the press in the coming year: tax rate reforms, the relationship of business and government, international trade cooperation, the balance of payments, and the problem of adjusting to technological advance and increasing productivity.

All these are only a part of the unfinished and never-ending problems we must try to solve. Regardless of what party is in power, or what our own personal predilections are, we cannot escape them or the need for solutions.

Each of the authors is a business leader, a man of practical experience. Each has also long been subjected to the CED process of objective research in his particular field. Although the views each author expresses are his own, they are in close tune to CED's policies, as set forth in its published statements. They reflect that insistence upon academic and personal freedom that, I think, has been the touchstone of CED's work for the past two decades.

—Theodore O. Yntema, *chairman of the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development and chairman of the Finance Committee of the Ford Motor Company.*

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Unemployment and education may well be the most important topics on the economic agenda for 1964. As former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and as an industrialist with long experience with the Eastman Kodak Company, Marion B. Folsom speaks here with a voice of authority on this vital subject, as he did recently before the Senate Subcommittee on Manpower and Employment.

WHERE UNEMPLOYMENT HITS HARDEST

By MARION B. FOLSOM

THE PERSISTENCE of average unemployment rates of around 5½ or 6 per cent for six years is certainly one of the main economic problems of our time. If unemployment were distributed evenly among the labor force, with everyone unemployed for twelve or fifteen days each year, there would still be a serious loss of output and income. But unemployment is not distributed evenly. It is heavily concentrated on a small but significant number of people.

During 1961 there were 82,000,000 people who worked or looked for work. Eighty-two per cent of these people had no unemployment at all during the year. But 6 per cent—5,000,000 people—had fifteen or more weeks of unemployment. From the standpoint of human welfare, it seems much more serious that 5,000,000 people should be unemployed for fifteen weeks than that 75,000,000 people should be unemployed for one week each.

The situation is in fact worse than this. The consequences are most severe for people who fall into two categories. On the one hand, there are the people whose incomes are quite low even when they are employed and who are likely to have only tiny financial resources to carry them through a period of unemployment. By and large, the unskilled, uneducated, and non-white earn the lowest incomes when they are employed and have the highest incidence of unemployment. For example, in 1962 average unemployment was 5.6 per cent, but unemployment among unskilled laborers was 12.4 per cent. Unemployment among white males with one or more years of college was 2 per cent, but unemployment among white males with fewer than eight years of schooling was over 8 per cent. Unemployment among whites was 4.9 per cent, but among non-whites was 11 per cent.

The other category in which unemployment is especially heavy and serious is young people. In 1962, when unemployment among all males was 5.3 per cent, unemployment among males eighteen and nineteen years old was 13.8 per cent and in the twenty-to-twenty-four bracket was 8.9 per cent. Most of these young people do not have family responsibilities, and unemployment among them might therefore be considered less serious. But it should be remembered that these young people are unemployed in their formative years, and the experience, work habits, and social attitudes they gain or miss during these years are very important.

Unemployment is also concentrated in certain communities. Neighborhoods with large populations of Negroes or unskilled white workers are likely to have high unemployment rates. Harlem in New York or the old Allegheny section of Pittsburgh, both with unemployment rates in excess of 20 per cent for males, are examples of this. There are other communities in which high unemployment rates result from the depressed condition of the dominant industries. This is true of the coal towns of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, where unemployment has exceeded 10 per cent for many years.

In communities where unemployment rates are in excess of 10 per cent the evil economic and psychological effects are felt even by those who are employed. Such communities cannot provide the environment of good schools, good houses, confidence, and ambition in which children should be raised.

I think that two conclusions can be drawn from these observations. One is that measures designed to reduce the average rate of unemployment will help to reduce unemployment in those categories where the rates are highest.

The other is that such measures will still leave excessively high rates in some categories unless we either reduce the average so far as to cause bottlenecks and inflation or take special steps to reduce the concentration of unemployment in certain groups.

Thus there are two things we have to do. First, we need to take general measures to reduce general unemployment. This is the most important and urgent requirement. I have in mind chiefly a prompt and substantial tax reduction. Second, we should proceed with special steps to correct the tendency of the unskilled, young, and Negroes to experience unemployment rates much higher than the national average, whatever the national average may be.

We must deal with two basic prob-

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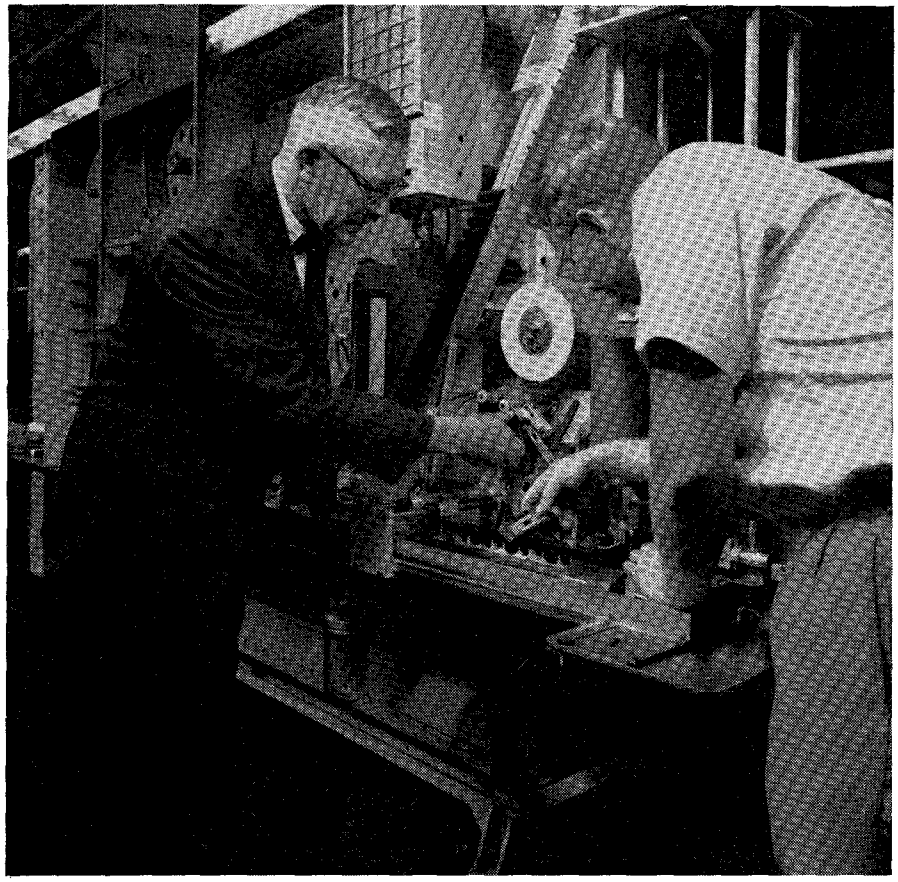

Retraining a worker—"It is not necessary that some groups have unemployment rates two or three times the national average."

lems: the problem of relatively low productivity and the problem of racial discrimination.

The relatively low productivity of the groups with the highest unemployment is shown by the fact that people in these groups receive the lowest wages when they are employed. Their relatively low productivity is the natural consequence of their relative lack of education, experience, and skill.

THIS problem would be corrected, or at least substantially diminished, if the wage rates of less productive people were lower, relative to average wage rates. The distribution of unemployment is significantly influenced by the structure of wage rates. Obviously, if everyone from illiterates to Ph.D.s received the same wage rate, unemployment rates among the uneducated and shortages among the highly educated would be even larger than they are. It is only the spread of wage rates that keeps the spread of unemployment rates from being still greater. A further adjustment of wage rates—meaning lower relative wage rates for those groups among whom unemployment is highest—would help reduce the concentration of unemployment.

Several factors prevent adjustments of wage rates. These include minimum wage laws, the floor set under wages by unemployment compensation and other benefits, the structure of wage rates set in many companies with or without collective bargaining, customary patterns, and the ideas of both employers and employees about what is a fair wage for a particular job.

Certainly it is bad public or private policy to set wage rates at levels that prevent people seeking work from finding it. We must try to achieve better adjustment in the wage structure. We should avoid setting legal minimum wages that deprive people of opportunity for work or for training.

But at least in the case of the most disadvantaged people this cannot be the whole solution. Their problem is not only that they have a high rate of unemployment but also that they receive low incomes when they work. What we want is not only to help them find jobs but to help them find jobs at wage rates as high as or higher than they now earn when employed.

This brings us back to the need for raising the productivity of the people who suffer both from low incomes and high risks of unemployment, so that more of them can find employment at their present or higher wage rates. The key to doing this is education.

We are only just becoming aware of the role that education has played and is playing in American economic development. It is worth looking at this briefly in historical perspective, because it throws light on our present situation.

Three powerful forces have been at work in the historical development of the American economy.

One is growth in the stock of physical capital. Another is advanced technology and organizational improvements. Third is the increase in average educational attainment of the labor force, as measured by years of school completed and amount of training acquired on the job.

These three forces have all worked to permit employment of a labor force that grew rapidly from decade to decade at steadily higher incomes per worker. The rise of income per worker is an important part of the picture. Without growth of capital, advance of technology, and improvement of education it would still have been possible to employ the rapidly rising labor force, just as it is possible now to employ a much larger labor force in a country like India. But to employ the growing labor force at anything like the wages that have prevailed in America would have been manifestly impossible without the rise in productivity that resulted from these three forces.

It should be noted that this rise of employment went on despite recurrent fears that the growth of capital and advance of technology would prevent continued employment of even the existing labor force. In fact, the result was exactly contrary to these fears.

WHILE capital growth and technological advance have tended to raise the average productivity of labor, they have not raised the productivity of all workers equally. They have tended to raise most the productivity of the better educated and skilled workers and to raise least or actually to reduce the productivity of the less educated and skilled. Capital equipment embodying new techniques particularly tended to displace and compete with those workers who were capable only of routine physical and mental activity. At the same time the value of those qualified people who could work with the new equipment, or who could do things machines could not do, rose most rapidly.

Clearly, if the labor force's education and skills remained constant, progress in capital and technology would have caused an even more unbalanced situation. Better qualified workers would have become much scarcer, and their wages much higher, relative to average wages. There would have been an increasing surplus of uneducated and unskilled people, spreading unemploy-

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ment among them, and declining wages relative to the average.

One result of educational improvement has been to prevent disparity of income and employment opportunity from growing. As capital investment and technological advance reduced the relative demand for unskilled workers—who could only lift, pull, or carry—education reduced the proportion of workers who could only do that and nothing more.

By education, the number of people competing for the decreasing number of jobs that could be done by unskilled people steadily diminished, and they were able to find employment at wages not too far behind the rising average level. By education, we have also increased the proportion of the labor force that could use, work with, and complement increasing capital and advancing technology. But education has not eliminated the pool of workers with productivity far below the average, with incomes far below the average, and with an exceptionally high risk of unemployment.

The people in this pool are much better educated than the unskilled of fifty or a hundred years ago and they earn higher incomes. A century ago they were people with no schooling, fifty years ago they were people with less than, say, six years of schooling, and today they are people with less than, say, ten years of schooling. But they have not reduced their gap behind the rapidly rising productivity of our average worker. This is the most obvious problem today, whether it shows itself in high unemployment rates among the unskilled or in low incomes.

Of course, no amount of education will eliminate individual differences in productivity. These depend partly upon qualities that are innate or determined by environmental factors other than education. But we are far from having exhausted the potentialities of education for raising the relative productivity of the less productive.

I draw three conclusions from this analysis of our past:

► The problem of low incomes and high unemployment rates among the less educated and less skilled is not new.

► Merely improving education will not eliminate or reduce the problem. A certain rate of improvement of education is necessary just to keep even, to keep technology and investment from making the problem worse.

► To gain ground we shall have to accelerate the pace at which we improve education.

There are people who maintain that the speed and character of technological change in the next decade or two will displace workers much more rapidly and farther up the skill ladder than in the past. Whether this will happen is uncertain. If it does, an even more rapid upgrading of the skills of the labor force will be required.

In the next decade or two we shall have an unusual opportunity to raise the qualifications of the labor force. An exceptionally large proportion of the people who will be in the labor force ten years from now will be young people. They are now in school, and we still have the chance to raise their basic capacities in the most favorable circumstances. If we miss this chance, many of these young people will have a hard time finding a job that leads to a progressive career. Many who do find an initial career will be unqualified for the adjustments that future technological change may require of them.

Let me recapitulate my general argument up to this point:

We need to take some general measures, notably the reduction of taxes, that will raise the over-all level of economic activity, increase the demand for labor of all kinds, and reduce average unemployment.

As we do this, and as the average unemployment rate falls, we will find that unemployment rates fall very low in some categories of the labor force while they remain fairly high in others. After a point it will be difficult to push unemployment down further.

The groups that will still have a high incidence of unemployment will differ in several respects from the groups with low unemployment—age, location, industrial attachment, and race, for example. The underlying difference, however, will be their limitations in education and skills.

Our basic objective, therefore, is to increase the supply of workers qualified to fill the jobs for which there will be a demand as the economy expands and to reduce the number qualified only for unskilled jobs.

The key is education and training. I do not mean to imply that education and training are the sole answers. Of course, there are also important problems of mobility, information about employment opportunities, improvement in employment services, and entrance barriers into some occupations. However, the improvement of education is fundamental.

For the large majority of people our educational system works well—not ideally, but well. They advance through school, more or less in step with their capacities, make the transition to a job without too much waste motion, gain experience and skill on the job, and enjoy a rising income and reasonable job security. They shift from school to job at different stages, some after high school and some after college, and receive more on-the-job training the more qualified they are for it.

But serious difficulties of two kinds appear in this system. One problem arises for too many young people around the time of completing high school, when they should be moving into a career. Some of these young people drop out before graduation, and others graduate. Many who graduate and a much larger proportion of those who drop out have great difficulty in finding employment. After some years of intermittent

Unemployment Rates

	1951-53 Average	1955-57 Average	1960-62 Average
Total	*2.7%*	*4.0%*	*6.3%*
White	2.5	3.6	5.3
Non-white	4.5	7.8	11.2
By Occupation			
Professional, technical	1.1	1.1	1.8
Craftsmen, foremen	2.5	3.7	5.6
Operatives	3.8	5.8	8.4
Laborers, except farm & mine	5.8	9.3	13.1
All Males	*2.5*	*3.8*	*5.7*
18 and 19	6.7	10.7	15.0
20-24	3.9	7.0	9.5
35-44	1.7	2.6	4.0

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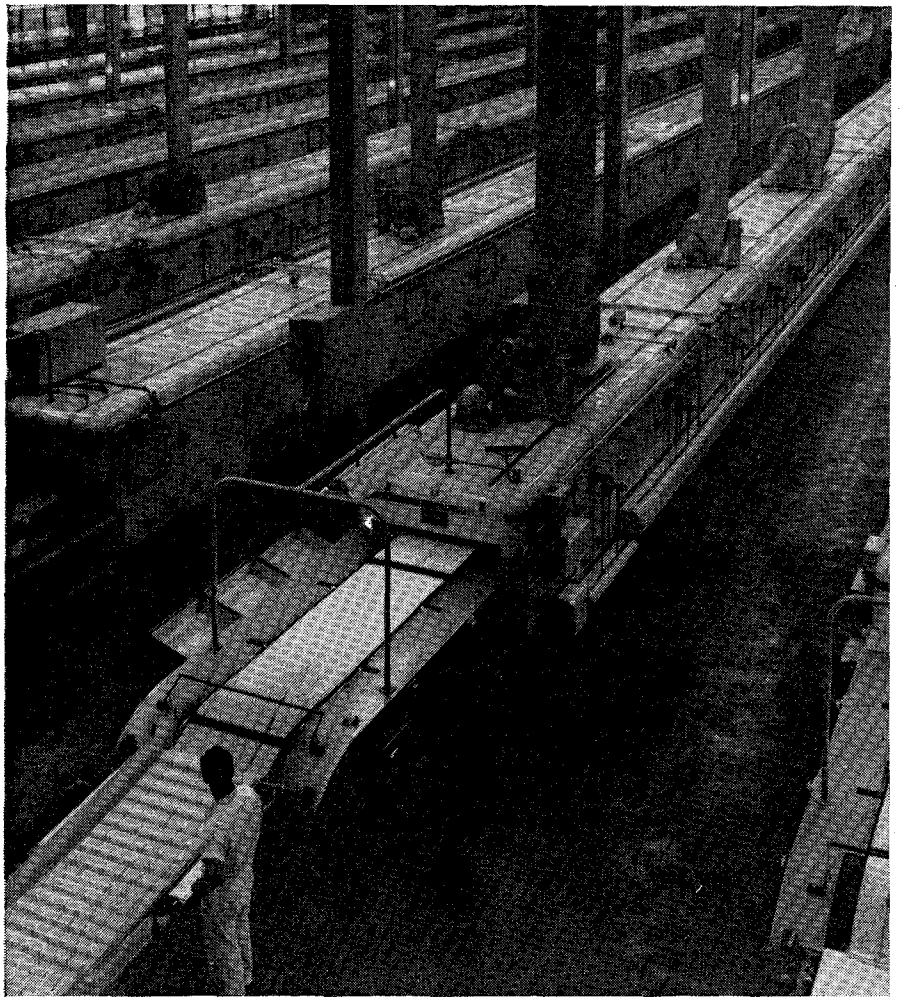

Automated factory—"Skills acquired during years of work have been made obsolete by technological changes."

unemployment they settle into jobs that require and provide little further training or development, where wages are low, and where unemployment risks are high.

The other problem arises for some people at a later stage of their careers when they find that skills, large or small, acquired during years of work have been made obsolete by technological changes or other changes. Many workers with high skills are likely to have some transferable abilities. Especially if they are employed by diversified firms with facilities for retraining, their adjustment to a new job may not be too difficult. But for workers with little skill, employed in small firms and in areas not economically vigorous, the problem is serious.

We should put the facilities of our universities and community colleges to work providing night courses to upgrade technical skills and professional knowledge and to broaden the educational background of administrative and staff personnel.

Tuition for adult education courses should pay the cost of making the additional education available. In my opinion, businesses should offer to pay at least half the tuition for courses their employees undertake to attend in evening classes. Business should cooperate with the academic community in formulating the courses to be offered for employee training, so that the adult education offered corresponds to needs and is up to date.

We are now trying to deal with the above two problems through expanded programs of vocational training for the young and retraining for middle-aged or older workers. These absolutely indispensable programs have considerable federal inspiration and financing. We must now work to develop them as effectively as we can.

AT the same time we should recognize that vocational training and retraining programs by themselves can only partially correct deficiencies that occurred earlier. The reason the teen-ager has difficulty finding a good job is basically his failure to acquire basic literacy and computational skills, discipline, motivation, and ability to work with teachers, supervisors, and colleagues. If he had these qualities, the chance of making the transition from school to a progressive work experience would be much better, even with present inadequacies in vocational training. Without them, his vocational training, while necessary and probably the best we can do, will succeed only moderately.

The same can be said about the mature worker displaced by economic change. His adaptability in this circumstance is directly related to the quality of whatever basic education he acquired earlier.

The need is not merely to raise the qualifications of those individuals, teenagers or older, who would otherwise have a high risk of unemployment. There is also a loss when the high school graduate capable of much more productive work settles down to a lifetime of semi-skilled labor because he does not go on to college. If the more capable people advance to higher occupations, those formally less qualified can then move in to semi-skilled jobs. We should try to thin out the ranks of the unskilled by moving up as many people as we can, thereby improving the opportunities of those who, for one reason or another, remain unskilled.

The problem of high, productive employment involves our whole educational system, from kindergarten through university, as well as the training that is provided by business and evening adult education.

TO improve primary and secondary education will be difficult. The President of Columbia University once said that no educational system had yet been devised that would keep an intelligent, curious, ambitious young person from getting a good education.

The most difficult part of the problem is to provide a good education for young people of average innate ability or less, from homes in which there is little intellectual interest, growing up in environments in which the value of education is unclear.

Children from poor and uneducated families need better schools—not only better than they now have but also better than the present average of our schools. They should have smaller classes, because there is likely to be a greater discipline problem and more need for individual attention. They need more and better guidance and counseling, in part because their parents are less able to provide it. They need more capable and understanding teachers.

While we are making a special effort to improve the elementary and secondary education provided for our disadvantaged children we should also be working to bring the average level of public education more nearly in line with the requirements of a world that is becoming technologically and socially more complex. All this will take money,

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effort, and research, but it will be well worth the investment.

In our current enthusiasm for vocational training and retraining we must not neglect the fundamental need for improving basic, *prevocational* training. The danger of such neglect is increased by the present situation with respect to federal aid. At first unwilling to accept federal aid to general primary and secondary education, but realizing the importance of educational aid of some sort, we now devote increasing federal funds to vocational training, retraining, and higher education.

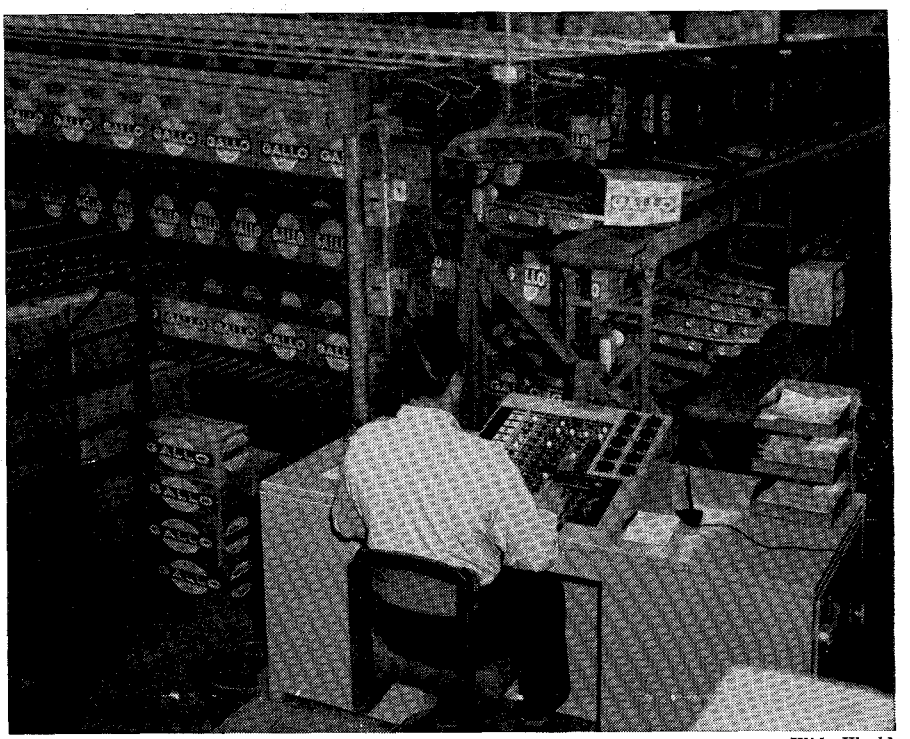
It is time for the federal government to recognize the national interest in the improvement of general primary and secondary education. It should back up this recognition by providing federal financial assistance where it is most needed.

The statement on this subject made by CED's Research and Policy Committee four years ago is still true:

> The national interest in good schools everywhere and the national interest in a decentralized school system are not irreconcilable. The combination of these two interests calls for the assumption of an important but limited responsibility by the federal government. This is a residual responsibility. It is to provide support to the extent necessary in situations where the decentralized system cannot provide good schools. And this support should be reserved for cases where the deficiency is clear.
>
> The clear and present need is for federal financial assistance to the states that have extremely low personal incomes relative to the number of school children.

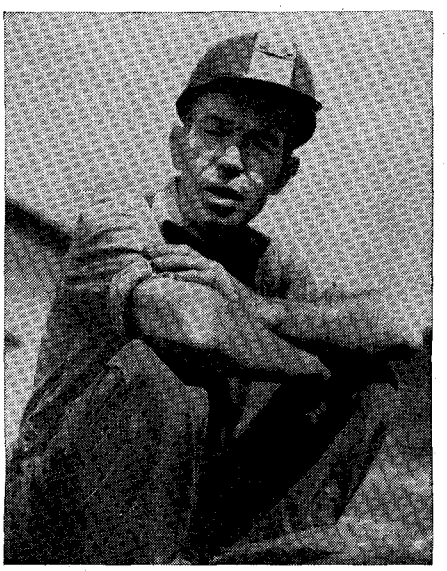
Federal funds spent upon improvement and expansion of the education available to Americans is the best possible investment of tax money. Everything we are able to learn about economic growth and sound self-government indicates that funds invested in education are returned many times over. In considering what federal spending should or should not be approved, priorities in terms of national needs and benefits should be our guide. The benefits to be expected from improvement of education throughout the nation should assign a very high priority to such spending.

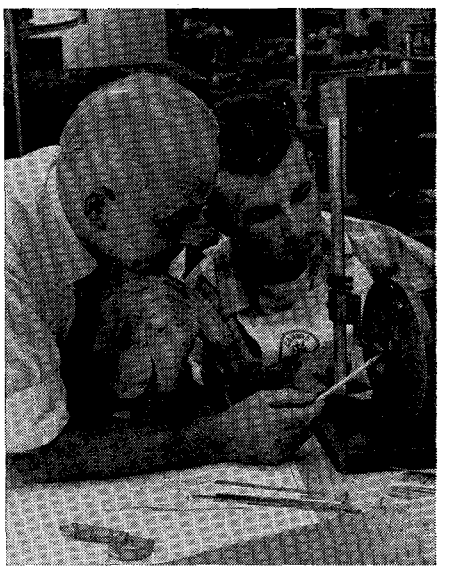
Federal aid will not relieve the states and localities of their financial responsibilities. It would, I believe, only emphasize the need for improvement of education that arises from technological change and our rising standards of economic and social performance. The responsibilities of the states will be especially great because only they can provide the necessary leadership for efficient reorganization of school districts and the financial aid required for districts with particularly low incomes.



—*Wide World.*

New techniques, new problems—Above, a pushbutton warehouse in San Francisco; below, left, unemployed miner who can no longer find employers for pick-and-shovel work; below, right, a factory worker receives special training for a new job.





—*Earl Palmer (Monkmeyer).*

We need to develop a comprehensive system of community colleges within commuting distance of most people in the country. Some states are well on their way to this, but others are far behind. The community college should not be an excuse for deferring to an older age the higher-quality education that should be obtained in high school. The time of students and teachers is too valuable to be wasted in stretching out the learning process. But the community college can:

1) Provide, for young people and adults, vocational-technical training of a kind that requires high school education as background.

2) Provide, for high school students and others, kinds of vocational-technical training too specialized and requiring too much equipment to be included in the curriculum of most high schools.

3) Provide economically the initial ingredients of a general college education for students who will transfer to a four-year college and for those who will not.

There could and should be close cooperation between a community college

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"You're all fired!"

Education and Society

WE HAVE NOT SUFFICIENTLY valued intellectual achievement—either in what we paid for it or in the respect and freedom we gave it. This applies to all fields of intellectual endeavor, and not merely to the sciences. Education's responsibility for national security extends far beyond the training of scientists and servicemen.

This country has developed a powerful economy. It is an economy that is extremely responsive to the demands of the people, whether expressed privately through the market or publicly through the government. The economy produces efficiently and in large quantities what the people want. We have also developed a responsive political system that produces the kind of government policy the people want. But, however powerful and responsive economic and political instruments may be, they are not enough in themselves to produce a good society and good lives for its members. These instruments will produce what is good, desirable, and valuable only if the people want what is good, desirable, and valuable.

The education of the people to improve the quality of the choices made and thus to make the best use of the power of our economy and of our government is not a responsibility of the schools alone. The responsibility is shared by all the institutions and processes that form peoples' understanding—families, churches, adult education programs, the media of public information, and the course of life itself. But the schools are basic.

—From "Paying for Better Public Schools," a statement on national policy by the Research and Policy Committee of the CED.

and industries of the community. A vast amount of training is now being done by industry, to say nothing of the informal learning by experience that has always gone on. A Department of Labor survey showed that in spring of 1962 about 7 per cent of all employees in non-agricultural industries were receiving training. For the nation as a whole, this amounted to about 3,000,000 workers. Training programs were much more common in large establishments than in small ones. Whereas 19 per cent of all establishments had training programs, 75 per cent of establishments with 500 or more employees had programs.

I think that business will find investment in the education and training of its employees of increasing value. Where training specialized to particular firms or industries is needed, the larger firms at least will commonly be able and willing to provide it. But the smaller firms may have to rely on outside training and institutions, public or private. Moreover, even the larger firms may find it necessary or efficient to rely on outside institutions for providing education so general, so close to the continuing function of academic institutions, that the firm has no special competence for providing it. Conversely, education may be so specialized that even a very large firm cannot provide it.

Many large firms are now sending executive and professional personnel to universities to continue their education, not only in subjects directly related to their work but also in more general subjects, such as literature, philosophy, history, and economics. These administrative and staff people are helped not only to become more competent in their work but also more interested, alert, imaginative, and adaptable. The same consideration applies, with appropriate adjustment for subjects studied and time spent, to workers at all levels. Businesses have an interest in the continuing education of their employees; they should encourage it and be prepared to share the cost in time and money. This will be particularly true so long as many people enter industry ill-prepared, through no fault of their own, in basic skills like reading, writing, and computation. Evening classes in local schools can provide adult education economically and conveniently, and without loss of work time.

My argument places a heavy burden on education. This is not new in America. The wide diffusion among Americans of the ability to lead an independent and satisfying life has been more dependent upon the improvement of education than upon anything else. Education will have to run even faster in the decades ahead to keep pace with changing conditions and aspirations.

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How business and government get along with each other is always of primary concern in a democratic society. The late Theodore V. Houser, chairman of the Committee for Economic Development and former chairman of Sears, Roebuck and Co., spoke recently on this subject before a group of European businessmen and industrialists gathered in Paris. One of his last tasks before his death on December 17 was revising this talk for publication in SR.

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS: THE VITAL BALANCE

By THEODORE V. HOUSER

WHAT government does, or what people do through government, has a large influence upon business, and a few facts will suggest how large that influence is. Government, local and national, in the United States now collects in taxes and other charges about 30 per cent of the gross national product, including about one-half of all corporate profits. Government spends about $120 billion a year on goods and services—over 20 per cent of the gross national product. Government and government enterprises produce about one-seventh of the national income, almost entirely in the form of services of military and civilian personnel. Government spends about $20 billion a year on education and thus has a major influence on the quality of the labor force available to business. Annual expenditures for research and development in the United States amount to some $14 billion, of which about two-thirds is financed by government. And the four major industries subject to the most government control —agriculture, finance, transportation and communications, and public utilities—account for about 18 per cent of privately produced national income.

But marshaling such information demonstrates only a quantitative fact. What we need are some qualitative facts—facts about the nature, purposes, and effects of government influence.

Describing the relation between government and business is necessary because we want to know whether we Americans now have what can properly be called a free-enterprise system. We ask this not out of mere curiosity but because it has important policy implications. Are we so far from a free market system that the ordinary presumptions against government intervention in that system do not apply? Have government actions so weakened and distorted the free market that the only way we can now rationalize the economic system is to impose an over-all government plan upon it? Has the scope of free markets in our own and other countries become so limited that it no longer makes sense to talk about freer international trade as a way to greater efficiency?

The answers to these questions lie as much in the character of government influence over the economy as in the amount of that influence. It is necessary to distinguish between those government actions that distort the market and justify some qualifications of a free market policy and those government actions that do not.

THE function of business is to produce what people want at as low a real cost as possible. The freedom of the businessman is the freedom to do this. He legitimately defends his freedom on the ground that, when free, he does produce what people want at least real cost. Americans in general believe that private business is most likely to serve this essential function when operating in an environment of competition. Extensive legislation in America, going back over seventy years, is intended to assure the maintenance of competition. This government action is considered necessary for continued business freedom in this country.

But government actions that keep business from producing what people want or that keep business from producing at the lowest real cost *do* impair business functions and the efficiency of our market system. They call for corrective action, either negative or positive in nature—that is, either for elimination of the original distortion or further action to compensate for it.

In the United States, as elsewhere, there are government actions of this kind. But not all government action that influences the economy is like this. Much of it expresses, through government purchasing, what people want. The American people apparently want to send a man to the moon before 1970 and are willing to spend huge amounts for this purpose. The people may be wise or unwise to want this. But the fact that this demand is expressed through government does not impair the function of business and the market in meeting the demand as efficiently as possible.

Government makes large investments —in education, in research, in highways, for example. These investments affect real costs and, therefore, what and how business produces. But if these investments are made in what can be called a businesslike way, private business and free market response to them is in the direction of increased efficiency.

Roughly, the distinction I draw is between government activity *in and through* the market, as buyer and seller, and government action *upon* the market, as suppressor or controller. By far the largest part of government activity in the United States is of the

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former kind, influencing a desirable outcome of the market process without impairing any of its aspects or functions. Therefore, to look at the size of government expenditures, taxes, and government employment in the United States and to conclude that the private enterprise system no longer works there is a mistake.

Nevertheless, there are many U.S. government activities that impair the market. We do have minimum prices for some products and services and minimum wage rates affecting a small part of the labor force. We have some subsidies and discriminatory taxes, a few quotas on imports, and some tariffs that are still too high. We have government restrictions on entry into some lines of activity and, in actual practice, government-supported labor monopolies in some fields.

The practical question is whether this country has passed the point of no return with government controls, so that the shorter, more feasible route to efficient organization lies in the direction of more and more comprehensive government controls and planning. I would give a negative answer to this question, and so, I believe, would the vast majority of Americans.

This negative answer rests on two considerations. First, most Americans are reluctant to believe, without strong evidence, that there is something fundamentally wrong with or inefficient about our economic system, which has produced a high standard of living for the great mass of its people. Its citizens recognize that the American economy has its problems. We have not been using our labor force and productive capacity fully, we have not been balancing our international accounts, and we are concerned over the low incomes and high unemployment risks of a small minority of our citizens. But solutions to these problems exist, we think, that are consistent with our present mixture of private and government functions.

Second, Americans tend to be skeptical about government control and planning in this country. We can conceive of a government plan so wise, objective, and farsighted that it would correct for all errors and distortions resulting from *ad hoc* government intervention and from private monopolies, immobilities, or ignorance. We can even conceive of the merits of this plan being so self-evident that everyone would voluntarily conform to it. But most Americans do not believe that things would really work that way—at least in a country with the size and complexity of ours, to say nothing of our traditions and institutions.

This skepticism is not the result of infatuation with Adam Smith. In fact, few Americans have probably read Adam Smith. But we have had a good deal of experience. For example, we tried comprehensive, voluntary planning in the 1930s under the National Recovery Administration and found it unworkable even before it was found to be unconstitutional. Our thirty-year experience with government control of agriculture has been a dismal failure. We have observed that government regulation of particular industries turns out to be either protection of the industries involved or narrow restriction that deadens initiative and progress. Government economic forecasting has not demonstrated any superiority over private forecasting.

Government in the United States has large, complicated, and important functions. To perform these functions well strains the government's capacity for wisdom, objectivity, and flexibility. Government is not helped in performing these essential functions by accepting the additional burden of trying to do what the private economy already does well.

We recognize the responsibility of business and citizens generally to promote the public welfare in their private actions. Private institutions for supporting public objectives, such as education, culture, research, health, and social services are highly developed in the United States, and they have strong financial and personal support from business. We believe this responsibility is not only the price but also the result of freedom. People who are not free may be obedient, but they do not develop a sense of responsibility.

In other nations the situation may be different. In smaller countries than the United States, comprehensive planning may be easier and private competition less effective. The traditions and institutions of some countries may give the expert more authority in the governmental process than he is likely to have in the United States. For these and other reasons, certain countries have a larger degree of government planning and control than the United States.

An international problem arises here inevitably. How are international economic relations to be organized when each national government exercises some control over its domestic economy but some exercise quite comprehensive control? There are three main possibilities. One is that each government will try to manipulate its foreign economic relations to adapt them to the objectives and procedures of its domestic controls and plans. A second is that countries will accept free, open international economic relations as a fact to which they will adapt their domestic policies. A third possibility is that governments will consult and seek agreements on specific policies intended to achieve fair, efficient relations.

Undoubtedly we shall have, as we do now, a combination of these three approaches. But I would urge that in

Business and the Public Interest

EFFECTIVE CITIZENSHIP and avoidance of controversy are not compatible objectives. An issue usually becomes controversial simply because it does not lend itself to easy solution. This is when the special talent of the businessman for weighing and deciding is needed most. A desire to shun controversy means a willingness to let important issues be decided without the participation of business. Business must be determined that its voice shall be heard in the solution of major problems.

No other course can be followed by those who really believe that the private sector should have the dominant role in our national lives. The position we believe in can be maintained only through leadership, and leadership requires an ability to deal intelligently with the interests of the whole society.

This was never more true than it is today. Issue after issue ultimately boils down to a judgment of what should be public and what should be private. And a mind that imprisons itself behind a wall of narrow self-interest or of doctrinaire responses will have little impact on the course of history.

Rather than wasting time trying to prove a point of view, business must seek instead to find the right answers to concrete problems, and in this way prove the validity of the private sector's claim to leadership.

—From remarks by the late Theodore V. Houser, Chairman of the Committee for Economic Development, 1962-63.

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CED session—Emilio G. Collado, left, vice-chairman of the CED's Research and Policy Committee, listens as MIT professor and former Presidential advisor Paul Samuelson debates a point during one of the economic group's sessions on current problems. Samuelson, like other top economists, is a member of the CED's Research Advisory Board.

this combination maximum reliance should be placed on free, open, international markets. In saying this, I detach myself from what may be regarded as a peculiarly American attitude toward government controls. Three considerations exist independent of this attitude.

First, government controls and plans are not established for their own sake but presumably to achieve certain national objectives efficiently. This requires that the facts of the real world be acted upon, including international economic facts. The planned economy, like the unplanned, also seeks to take advantage of possible gains from the international division of labor. Among plans for development or any other national objective, planners should seek the least costly.

Certainly the government planner's life is easier if he can insulate his operations from the unpredictable, uncontrollable behavior of the rest of the world. This is precisely why it is so dangerous to give him the option to do this. He is likely to act when it is convenient for his plan and not only when it is beneficial for the country.

Second, governments should not impose the costs and burdens of their controls on other countries. For example, if the British decide to subsidize and protect the raising of grapes in Scotland this will impose costs on British wine drinkers and taxpayers. Presumably the British have some machinery for deciding whether this is proper, and no one else is entitled to tell them that it is not. But they will also impose some burdens on French grape producers and possibly also on French taxpayers. Now, whether or not it is fair to tax the French for the sake of the British is difficult to say. Certainly, the relations of the involved countries are affected and free world solidarity may be threatened.

Third (perhaps most important), despite its current vogue, intergovernmental consultation and agreement cannot solve all, or even very many, international problems. There are certain critical matters that free nations, through our governments, must decide together. These include our political and economic relations with the Communist bloc, our defense policy and the distribution of its costs, our political and economic relations with less developed and, in part, uncommitted countries. We all have a certain community of interest from which, with patience and good will, we hope we can reach agreement on these critical questions. But we would be deluding ourselves to think that this community of interest will solve a great many smaller questions, from importing chickens to the price of airplane tickets. Every additional subject on which our governments must agree is a subject on which they can disagree. Among governments there are no small disagreements. The problem of chickens becomes, in the press, a "chicken war"; cabinet members must fly across the ocean to discuss it; heads of state must answer questions about it at press conferences. Everything goes to the summit, and there is no room at the summit for chicken wars.

Overburdening our capacity for international agreement reduces the possibility of getting agreement on critical issues. It corrupts the atmosphere. Good friendships, even good marriages, require a degree of privacy. Governments will be wise to leave as many questions as possible to the market, which, for all its imperfections, has the virtues of anonymity and privacy.

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The continuing problem of tax reform is discussed by Frazar B. Wilde, chairman of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Company, who speaks his own independent mind in making suggestions for major changes in the federal tax structure.

WHAT THE TAX CUT CAN DO

By FRAZAR B. WILDE

ALL THROUGH last year debate on the federal tax structure has been voluble. Today it appears likely that the tax rate cut, if not all the basic changes that were urged last January, may at last be granted by Congress. If it seems at first glance that almost everything possible has been said on this subject, the primary issues at least need re-emphasis and clarification. The matter of tax reform is going to be with us for some time to come.

The present federal individual and corporate income taxes not only must be materially reduced but they should be changed in structure. They were born of wartime conditions. By definition a wartime tax structure makes no sense in a peacetime economy. While some changes have been made since the war, the basic structure then erected still persists. What we need now is a tax structure designed primarily to accelerate long-term economic growth.

The main thrust of our wartime taxes was directed at sharply reducing civilian consumption. Also, to finance the war on the highest possible cash basis, it was necessary to raise maximum revenue from any and from all sources.

During wartime we were not obliged to give thought to current or long-range economic considerations that might conflict with the two basic objectives. Total demand was bound to be in excess of total productive capacity, and we were certain to have overemployment. Finally, because men and women would be asked to sacrifice their lives and their health, neither a business nor an individual, as a matter of equity, was allowed to make economic gains at the expense of his fellow man.

The mere listing of these objectives is enough to condemn the present tax laws. All of the reasons that made the tax rate structure right in wartime are, it seems to me, 100 per cent wrong in peacetime.

One more serious defect in our present tax structure is the fact that federal revenue derived from the present corporate and personal income taxes may depress the sources of productivity that provide the tax revenues. In other words, they are direct taxes levied upon the success of an individual or a business without regard to what the taxes do to impair future success. The more success, the greater the tax. Thus, from the standpoint of promoting individual and corporate growth, these taxes at anywhere near the present rates are, without question, the worst kind of taxes for our type of society.

Why is this so?

OUR country depends upon the initiative, enterprise, and encouragement of individuals energized by profits, operating as individuals or through corporations, for its growth and for continued progress in improving our standard of living. Any direct tax, particularly when the rates are high and progressive, is a serious handicap to this kind of society. The dynamics of the private sector of our economy give us our growth. Nearly 75 per cent of economic activity is generated through private enterprise. This private sector is now being hurt and restrained by the excessive rates imposed both on individuals and on corporations.

Studies have clearly shown that the revenue received by our government from direct taxation is higher than that exacted by any other free enterprise economy in the world. Obviously this means, over a time, that we cannot be as successful domestically or internationally as those countries that enjoy a better tax structure from an economic standpoint. This may well be one of the principal reasons why Europe has been turning in a consistently better record of growth than we have.

In view of such defects in our present tax structure, Congress should need little persuasion to make an about-face. But this has not happened. The reluctance of Congress and the people they represent poses some fascinating questions, both of mass psychology and of political forces in a democratic, free-enterprise system.

Perhaps the largest single reason is not the Puritan ethic, as has often been suggested. Instead, it stems from a basic lack of understanding of what makes our economy function. We have failed to educate ourselves, even at the college level, in the vital role of fundamental profit-and-loss economics in a free enterprise society. If the people do not understand the function of the price mechanism, do not understand the role of taxes, obviously they are in no position to influence their legislative representatives in the proper direction.

Progression in the individual tax structure produces many unhappy results. Some are intangible; some are direct and specific. Excessive progression discourages individual work, initiative, savings, and risk-taking. It encourages tax avoidance and influences decision-making in wrong directions. It reduces the supply of capital for investment and speculative ventures. It leads to several provisions in tax law administration that cause confusion and expense to the taxpayer and the government.

Some of these objections sound theoretical, particularly to people in the lower income brackets. In the last thirty years there has been a good deal of propaganda aimed against larger incomes, some direct, some subtle. It is reflected specifically on the excessive rate progression in individual income taxes. The fact that the result is in the direction of equalizing incomes—long an ob-

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jective of socialist and Marxist economics—is not recognized.

With respect to corporation taxes, there is widespread belief that corporations pass along to the consumer all the taxes they pay. Unquestionably, any business has to consider its taxes as part of the cost of doing business. It does not follow, however, that this particular cost is always successfully passed on to the consumer, nor that other problems are passed on as well. There can be little doubt that high corporate taxes have a serious and detrimental effect on profits and, hence, on the dynamic growth of our society.

The so-called loopholes in the tax law are another area of misunderstanding. Too many people think they are only a device for the benefit of larger taxpayers or of corporations. They do not realize that most of these provisions are a recognition by the Congress that our wartime laws are so unfair that they require modification under peacetime conditions. Furthermore, it is not understood that many of these provisions, especially those such as the charitable deductions, were offered by the Congress as an inducement for a social contribution. Yet if a rich man makes a large enough contribution to avoid any taxes, he risks being pilloried as a tax avoider.

It is true that some avoidances are less defensible, are the result of skilful lobbying, and confer a special benefit to those who can take advantage of them. These the Congress should eliminate.

These complications and the high progressiveness of tax rates make the man-in-the-street feel uncomfortably that the whole structure is inequitable. He suspects that many people, particularly the well-to-do, are not paying their share of taxation. This is exceedingly unfortunate in a democracy such as ours. It is, again, one of the reasons why a new bill cutting down the rates of progressive taxation and reducing corporate tax rates has failed to develop spontaneous and widespread political support.

A principal handicap in getting on with the business of tax reduction is the matter of budgetary deficits and the public debt. Happily, there are a large number of people who are properly concerned about these problems. They know that in their own lives a family budget balance is required. They naturally apply the same rules to the government. They do not realize that there is one important bookkeeping distinction between their family operations and those of the federal government.

The family unit unwittingly uses a capital budget and a current budget. The administrative budget of the federal government combines both elements. Millions of families do not hesitate to "buy on time." They buy not only

Taxes Yesterday and Today: Two Views

—*Bettmann Archive.*

"Step up to the Captain's office and settle!" Uncle Sam: "I'm sorry for you, my unfortunate friends;—I know the Income Tax is inquisitional and oppressive; but I've *got* to meet the one hundred and sixty million dollars of pension appropriation, somehow!"

"Now this represents the 56 per cent of national income we're spending on foreign aid and national defense."

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their homes but the furniture and appliances in it on time; likewise the automobile in the garage. Obviously this means that at any given time almost all younger families have a relatively large outstanding debt. They balance their budget in terms of their current living expenses and the annual installments on their time purchases.

The conduct of business is comparable to that of the individual family. Most businesses do not pay for capital improvements in one fiscal year. The federal government is not allowed to use the same bookkeeping system as an individual or as a private business. In fact it should not be allowed to do so, for obvious reasons that we need not expand upon here.

The point is that all deficits and public debt are not necessarily wrong or a threat to the economy. Some debt is sound and a wise investment for the future. But what items and how much are highly debatable questions.

The real objection by most people is constantly increasing expenditures by government—local, state, and federal. Within this over-all objection there is a paradox. Some people want some of the items increased. Other people want other items increased. Only a few actively campaign for reductions. The net result has been a steady tax increase. Ever-increasing expenditures at the federal level too often lead apparently to unbalanced budgets, deficits, and increased public debt.

Any deficit is a matter of concern to all of us. This is particularly true when the deficits are cumulative and seem as though they will continue. But contrary to public opinion, deficits do not automatically and certainly lead to significant inflation. The cause of the deficit and the way the deficit is financed are most important.

If the deficit represents a lack of growth through an unsatisfactory tax structure and expenditures of low priority through lack of legislative discipline, the deficit is a very serious one. This would still be true even if the total budget contained many high-priority items and were financed by sound debt management and good monetary and credit policies. A deficit resulting from a cyclical downturn is regrettable because it tends to show that our system is not working to the best advantage.

This second cause of deficits can be linked to taxes. It is contended—and with reason—that the present tax structure is negative and repressive in its effects on growth. Since taxes in whatever form must be collected from our total product, we could have more revenue at a lower rate of taxation if the country succeeded in achieving a higher rate of growth, aided by a better tax structure. This is the basic argument of those who wish to reform the present tax structure regardless of intervening deficits.

Moreover, most advocates of tax reduction and an improved tax structure are equally vehement in wanting to curtail growth in federal expenditures. They do not ask for substantial reduction in the present federal disbursements. They recognize that most of these expenditures cannot be reduced for various reasons. They do feel, and rightly, that most of them could be prevented from growing. In addition, many expenditures may not be entitled to the priority accorded them.

PEOPLE are suspect of the idea that, for example, a program of tax reduction and expenditure control will produce a smaller aggregate deficit over time and eventually a surplus. They have a right to this doubt. No one can guarantee such a result. National policies other than tax reduction are involved. Nevertheless, the arguments for a tax change are made by thoughtful, conscientious, and knowledgeable people who have studied the problem for the past decade, if not longer. They are not motivated by narrow, personal considerations.

In recent years, and especially in the last six months, we have gained increased public understanding of the relationship of taxes to our economy. Public support for a tax change has been growing. It is probable that a new tax bill will be enacted early in the year.

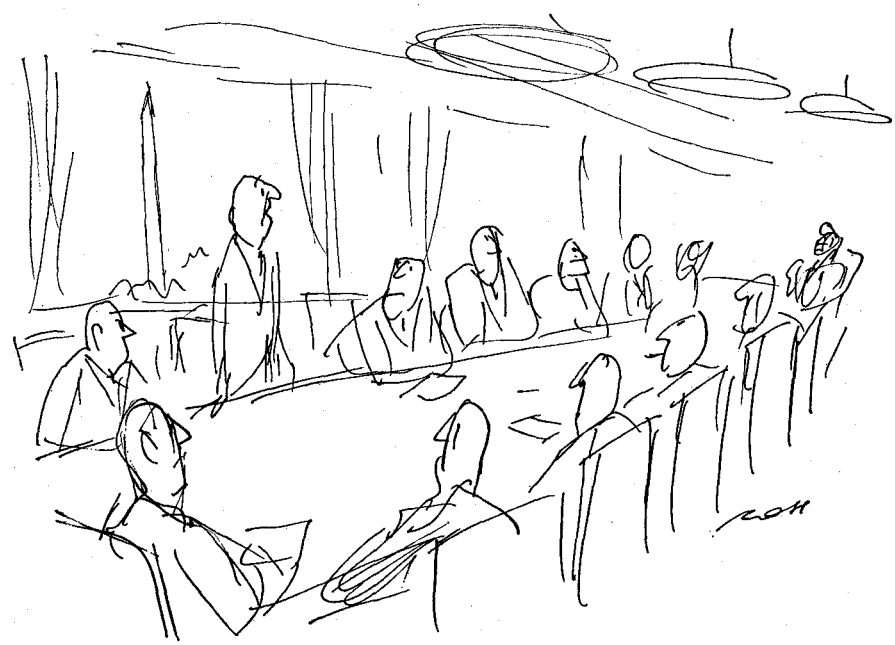
However, as we move in the direction of a more rational tax structure, it is important to understand that the tax bill now before Congress is far from satisfactory. The progression of individual income tax rates will still be too high. Top individual tax rates should not exceed 50 per cent. The maximum corporate rate should be 40 per cent.

The so-called reform area requires attention. Reform issues are highly controversial. Many of them arise because of the heights of the present direct tax rates. If we reduce these taxes, it will become easier and more justifiable to deal with the matter of reform.

Because of increasing demands upon the national government and despite the increased revenue from growth in the national product, a federal wholesale tax, or some other indirect tax such as a "value-added" tax, may be required. We do have to reach a budget balance more often than we have in the past. A surplus in some years is highly desirable to reduce the large federal debt. An indirect tax is not so serious in its detrimental effects on the growth and success of the country as excessive corporate and personal income taxes.

It is also possible and it would be highly desirable if we could agree upon an optional tax for use in the personal income tax structure. Such a tax would be at a single flat rate for a given income bracket without exemptions or deductions. An optional tax in a completely simplified form would be a great advantage to the country and to the individual taxpayer at whatever level the income tax structure may be stabilized.

One of the major gains to the country arising from the present debate is that more people are beginning to understand that taxes in their form and amount are vital in terms of what they do to hinder and distort sound growth. It is not just a matter of their direct impact on the individual and on business. The whole country would be helped by passage of a new tax bill substantially in the form now before Congress.



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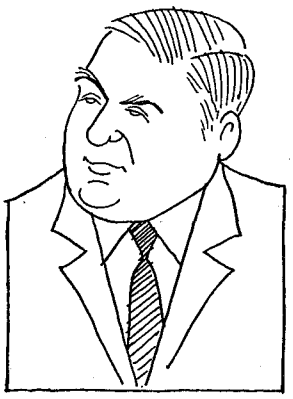

Ever since the exciting days of Bretton Woods, Emilio G. Collado—in various offices in the Treasury Department, the Federal Reserve System, the State Department, and the World Bank—has followed the shifts in the U.S. balance of payments. Now a vice president and director of Standard Oil (New Jersey), he offers a new analysis of this tenacious problem that affects our economic position at home and abroad.

WHAT'S BEHIND THE BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS PROBLEM?

By EMILIO G. COLLADO

THE financial pages carry expressions of concern about "our balance-of-payments problem" almost as regular features. This has been the case for nearly four years now, since "the dollar shortage" in Europe was overcome. But the nature of the problem as well as what should be done about it remain clouded in uncertainty. And this applies, I fear, almost as much to the expert as to the general public.

Yet it *is* a problem, and an important one. It stands alongside our military strength as a major determinant of our power position in the world. For this reason alone it demands our study and needs our understanding. The absence of easy answers makes it no less compelling.

Although the international payments of the United States began to exceed receipts as far back as 1950, it was not until the deficit exceeded $3 billion a year for three years in a row, beginning in 1958, that the storm signals began to wave with vigor.

This was a new situation for the United States. Our thinking was still influenced by years of concern over the ability of the rest of the world to balance its accounts with the United States. Some had even come to fear that our basic economic strength and our superior rate of productivity growth would pose a chronic balance-of-payments problem for the rest of the world.

But today it is the persistence of the United States deficit that causes worry in the international financial community. Now fear is expressed that we may be losing our competitive position in world markets. Where formerly it was generally conceded that international reserves were too heavily concentrated in the United States, questions now are asked about the adequacy of this country's reserve position.

Such a dramatic shift in position was recognized by the Committee for Economic Development some time ago, and a study group of which I was chairman issued a statement in February 1960 pointing out two dangers that would result from continued large deficits.

The first danger was that failure to take steps to end the deficit would cast doubt on our ability or determination to do so and would thus undermine confidence in the dollar and start a scramble to get out of dollars into foreign currencies and gold. The other danger was that our efforts to meet the problem could easily take forms that would impede world trade, weaken the defenses of the West, or curtail Western aid to the underdeveloped world.

These particular dangers have been averted thus far, even though the problem remains. Because we were not very happy about the adequacy of the remedies we then recommended, we continued to study the question. The continuing study has taught us how elusive the problem itself is, and has shown that even short-term measurement of it is a hazardous occupation.

In our early 1960 statement, for example, we concluded "there is every reason to expect the deficit in 1960 will be substantially smaller than in 1958 or in 1959." But instead the deficit increased to $3.9 billion over the $3.7 billion the year before and the 1958 deficit of $3.5 billion.

Perhaps we were only a little too eager, because in 1961 the deficit did fall to $2.4 billion. In the light of this improvement, Under Secretary of the Treasury Robert V. Roosa expressed the hope in the middle of 1962 that the deficit for that year might be cut to between $1 billion and $1.5 billion. In fact, it remained almost frozen at $2.2 billion.

Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon predicted hopefully in 1962 that we would "reach something approaching a [zero] balance by the end of 1963." Yet it now appears that the year-end balance will reveal an over-all deficit even larger than in the year before—somewhere in the neighborhood of $3 billion.

Trying to look ahead, against a background such as this, should inspire caution even in the most courageous. High hopes have been aroused, for example, by a dramatic improvement in the third quarter of 1963. But sad experience tells me that a tight rein needs to be applied to optimistic predictions for 1964.

Skepticism in this field is a reasonable attitude. The various types of international payments and international receipts that are reflected in balance-of-payments accounts represent a staggering number and variety of transactions. Some are interdependent; others are unrelated.

International flows of capital are particularly resistant to enlightened prediction. Domestic economic conditions in the United States and in the various

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foreign countries exercise an overwhelming influence on these and all other categories of international transactions. Economic forecasting at home is at best an inexact science, to say nothing of what happens when the crystal ball is trained on major trading countries having a wide variety of domestic economic problems of their own. In addition, flows of short-term capital, especially, respond to political as well as to economic developments here and abroad.

Reflecting these difficulties is the fact that every year, in accounting for overall payments and receipts, one of the largest items that results is that labeled "errors and omissions." In both 1961 and 1962 this item amounted to close to $1 billion. Many believe that the bulk of this amount actually is made up of unrecorded U.S. short-term capital movements. Thus, if one adds together the "errors and omissions" item in the balance sheet and the short-term capital flow item, the result is a very sizable account that is highly sensitive to unpredictable political as well as economic events.

At the risk of being completely discouraging, I should also point out that in addition to our unimpressive record in forecasting the future, there is even some confusion about the actual size of the deficits in the past. The deficits most often referred to officially have included some receipts from sizable and special transactions negotiated by our government. These include advance payments by foreign countries on military purchases and on loans, and sales of medium-term nonmarketable U.S. Government securities to foreign central banks.

Excluding these special receipts, the deficit on our "regular" transactions in 1961 would have been $3 billion instead of $2.4 billion and in 1962 it would have been $3.6 billion instead of $2.2 billion. More immediately, if these special governmental receipts are excluded from the seasonally adjusted accounts for the first nine months of 1963, the deficit amounts to $2.6 billion instead of $1.7 billion. It is perhaps wise to assume some limit to the ingenuity or the opportunity of the government to continue to effect these special transactions.

Despite these discouragements, however, some analysis of where we are heading is possible. The future directions, if not the dimensions, of the contribution to the balance of payments made by most of the individual categories of our international transactions can be indicated with some confidence.

Consistently, the largest positive contribution has been made to our balance of payments by the excess of exports of nonmilitary merchandise over imports. In 1962, the merchandise surplus amounted to $4.3 billion. During the first three quarters of last year, both exports and imports rose and the balance between them for the entire year will probably turn out to be about as favorable as in 1962.

Some of these nonmiliary exports are, of course, financed by government grants and loans. Among these are the shipments of surplus agricultural products under Public Law 480, for which we normally receive payment in nonconvertible currencies. If all government-financed exports are deducted, our exports of merchandise still substantially exceed our imports. This favorable balance amounted to $2.8 billion in 1960, $3.2 billion in 1961, and $2 billion in 1962. These figures underscore the value and importance of our regular international commercial activity.

We should not assume, though, that the favorable balance in our export account can be increased considerably in the immediate future. While cost pressures in Europe stemming from labor scarcities could prove beneficial to U.S. trade, recent experience seems to indicate that European competitors have trimmed their profit margins to avoid losing trade. And in certain lines of activity, our technological supremacy may be diminishing.

Increased business activity here and a slackening in Europe's growth rates would tend to cause our trade surplus to shrink. Moreover, the agricultural policy of the Common Market could severely limit our farm exports to Europe. A near-term offset to this development could be provided by agricultural sales to Communist-bloc countries. Even if we decide against such sales, if they are undertaken by Canada an offset could come in the form of U.S. shipments of products of all types to Canada and through an increase in our agricultural sales in other parts of the world.

Export markets in the underdeveloped countries continue to be weak. Growth of the market in these countries, for the most part, awaits an expansion in their ability to sell their products abroad. And, whatever the outcome of the forthcoming round of tariff negotiations, they are not likely to influence our trade position before 1965.

These cautions are directed at excessive expectations of short-term gains. The size and the consistency of the favorable balance in this account should stand out as a major point of attention.

The next largest positive item in our current international accounts is the annual income on our investments abroad. Private investment income has grown steadily—from $2.9 billion in 1960 to $3.8 billion in 1962. By far the largest contribution to this surplus is made by income from direct investments of U.S. companies overseas, including investments in branches as well as in those foreign-based companies in which American concerns hold at least a 25 per cent interest. Moreover, the $3 billion direct investment income in 1962 was nearly double the net balance-of-payments outflow for new direct investments abroad.

Looking ahead to 1964 and somewhat

The Balance of Payments

	(1962)
United States Payments for:	
Imports of Goods	16.1
Imports of Services and Earnings on Foreign Investment in U.S.	5.8
Pensions and Remittances Abroad	.7
Outflow of U.S. Private Long-Term Capital	2.8
U.S. Military Expenditures Abroad	3.0
Loans and Grants by U.S. Govt. Abroad	3.0
Errors, Omissions, and Private Short-Term Capital	1.5
Total Payments	32.9
United States Receipts from:	
Exports of Goods	20.5
Exports of Services and Income on U.S. Overseas Investment	9.3
Inflow of Foreign Capital for Non-Liquid Investments in U.S.	.9
Total Receipts	30.7
Deficit:	2.2

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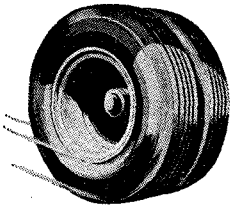

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beyond, a continuation of the recent steady increase in total investment income is likely, as it reflects the maturing of the very large accumulation of U.S. investments made in past years as well as the continuing additions to U.S. investments abroad.

Now let us look at what constitutes the major elements in the outflow of capital.

In the nongovernmental field, the largest component normally has been the net new outflow for direct investments. The 1962 total of $1.6 billion represents a steady three-year level. Significant growth in this amount seems unlikely in 1964 and a decline might even occur. This would reflect a slackening in Europe's growth rate, a lack of significant improvement in the relatively unfavorable climates for foreign investments in some of the less developed countries, and a continuation of the trend toward greater reliance on foreign sources of financing by U.S. companies operating abroad. In fact, the income brought home over net direct investment outflow may grow even larger in 1964 than in the preceding years.

A proper weighing of the net favorable contribution made by U.S. direct investments abroad to our balance of payments should also include two other items that are often overlooked. The first is the royalties and other fees paid to U.S. companies by their foreign affiliates. This source of income has been growing steadily and exceeded $500 million in 1962. The second is the effect of our direct investments overseas on U.S. exports themselves. This is difficult to identify precisely in some cases, but my impression is that the export promotion effect of such U.S. investments abroad is not sufficiently recognized outside of international business circles. Studies made by many individual firms indicate that their manufacturing subsidiaries abroad have often assisted additional exports from the U.S. The National Industrial Conference Board has a study under way that may shed additional light on the subject.

The dangers of prediction were demonstrated dramatically this past year in connection with the outflow of capital for portfolio investments. This account includes net medium or long-term lending to foreigners by banks and other private U.S. companies as well as securities purchased by Americans. The outflow grew fairly steadily from $850 million in 1960 to $1.2 billion in 1962. Then, suddenly, the flow became a flood and the total for all of 1962 was equalled in the first six months of 1963.

Consequently, in July, President Kennedy asked Congress to enact an "interest equalization tax" on purchases of foreign securities by U.S. citizens from foreigners. The outflow quickly dwindled. But because of capital shortages and restrictions abroad, pressure to borrow here is again building up, and some resumption is likely, regardless of whether Congress finally enacts the tax.

The net outflow of private short-term capital, which was $1.3 billion in 1960, $1.5 billion in 1961, and $0.5 billion in 1962, was also large in the first half of 1963. But this was reduced sharply in the third quarter, reflecting the monetary tightening undertaken by the Federal Reserve authorities in July, through raising the discount rate from 3 to 3½ per cent. The higher ceiling on interest rates for shorter-time deposits may also have reduced the incentive for American companies to hold liquid funds abroad and increased the attractiveness to foreigners of holding dollars here.

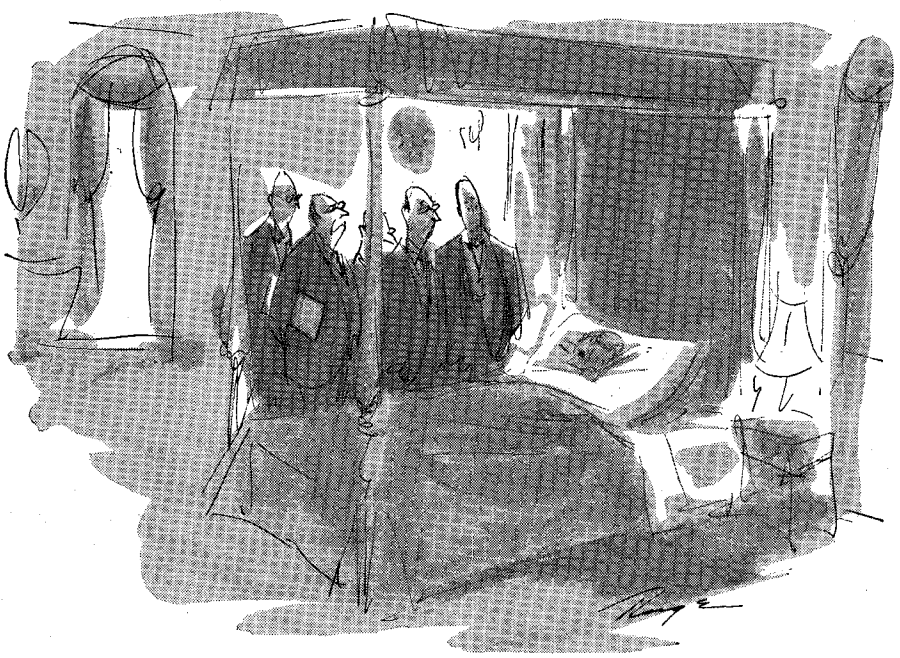
The higher short-term money rates now prevailing here could become insufficient to discourage an outflow from the U.S. in 1964 if anti-inflationary steps taken abroad cause European rates to firm further. But purely speculative movements of U.S. short-term funds probably will continue to be deterred by the relative stability in the markets for gold and foreign currencies that has been achieved in times of crisis by the close cooperation among the central banks of the United States, Canada, Britain, and Continental Europe.

ALL things considered, the private sector of our economy has made a strong contribution to our balance of payments. This has been achieved largely through the surplus on merchandise trade, and the excess of income over the net outflows on medium and long-term private investments abroad needs to be noted. Our policies to redress the deficit should recognize this contribution.

The very large drain remaining to be considered is that caused by government payments for aid and military expenditures abroad. The disbursements for economic aid, which have continued to increase from year to year, may be lower next year or the following year as a result of the opposition evident in the Congress. Coupled with this is the wide support for the Administration's effort to encourage our allies to assume a larger share of aid to the developing nations.

Not all aid, of course, is a net drain. The Agency for International Development has estimated that over a four-year period from 70 to 75 per cent of our economic aid has resulted in additional U.S. exports, thus implying that only about a quarter of our aid has had an adverse effect on our balance of payments. This effect is difficult to measure, however, since tied loans may have allowed the receiving countries to release and thereby divert other foreign exchange earnings to purchases outside the United States.

Military expenditures of our armed forces overseas have placed a direct strain on our balance of payments, amounting to $3 billion in each of the last three years. At least half this amount was spent in Western Europe. Our government has consistently urged our allies to assume a greater share of our mutual defense burden. This led, in 1961



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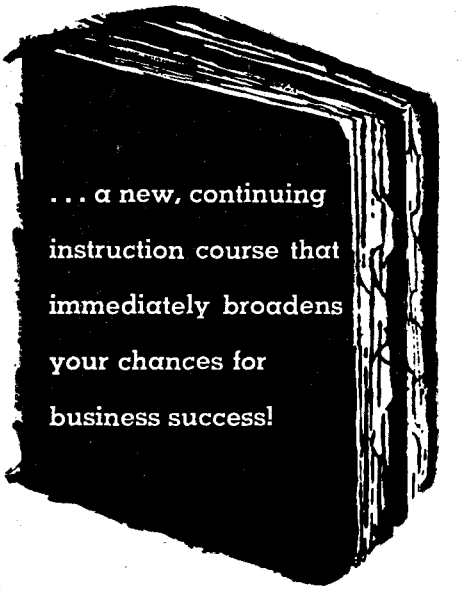

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and 1962, to increased purchases of military equipment in this country that reduced the net drain of military costs. Furthermore, the Department of Defense has announced that measures that it would put into effect before the end of 1964 are expected to reduce our foreign military expenditures by $300 million.

THESE, then, are the major items on both the debit and credit sides of the ledger. By setting forth the major components in the intricate pattern of international transactions and getting some sense of their characteristics and directions, a start can be made toward determining policies that can best correct the imbalance with the least risk of serious dislocation. And one of the first conclusions to emerge from such an analysis is that there is no single "cause" for U.S. deficits. Thus, our search for "cures" has to take many forms and move in many directions.

In his July message to Congress, President Kennedy cited various measures that had already been taken to stem our dollar outflow, including the official encouragement of export promotion, the broadening of facilities for financing of exports through the Export-Import Bank, the reduction of the duty-free exemption on the purchases of American tourists abroad, and the passage of the Trade Expansion Act. These efforts may prove more fruitful in time, but we should be alive to the fact that much depends on our skill and success in developing the opportunities offered by the Trade Expansion Act.

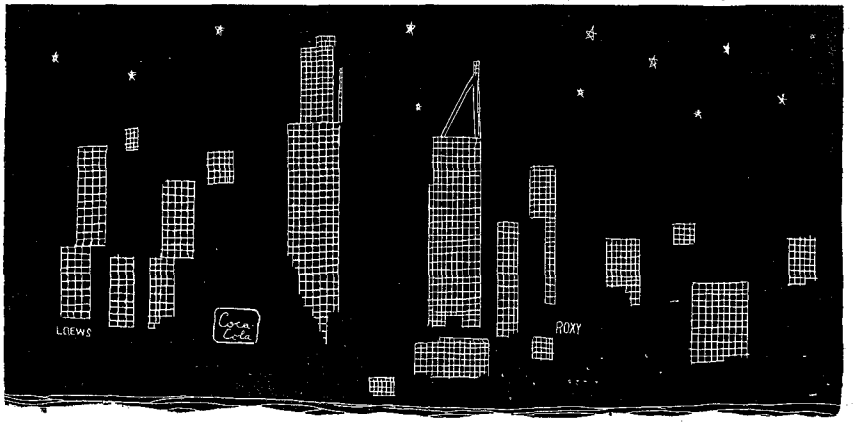
There is a limit to the willingness and ultimate capacity of foreign countries to receive our goods without at the same time raising their exports to our shores. Increasing the flow of international trade is an important national objective and is a vital element in any approach to our balance-of-payments difficulties. No efforts should be spared by our representatives in the forthcoming trade negotiations to achieve the broadest possible liberalization of trade restrictions.

One danger that certainly must be avoided is to let spectacular experiences over short periods, such as the improvement in the third quarter of 1963, lead to complacency. Neither complacency nor panic is called for. What is needed is persistent attention to a long-term problem.

More can and must be done in our own backyard. This clearly must begin with continued efforts by private business and by labor groups to make our production more competitive internationally. But I am convinced that still further U.S. initiative is needed, preferably one that imparts greater flexibility to our over-all approach. And the sooner such initiative is undertaken, the less likely it is that more drastic measures will be required later.

Steps in the right direction were taken late last spring when the Federal Reserve authorities, having moved very cautiously since February of 1961, exerted their influence in favor of substantially higher short-term interest rates. U.S. short-term rates relative to those prevailing abroad now give less incentive for funds held in the U.S. to move abroad. This has been achieved without any significant increase in long-term interest rates here in the United States. But the extent to which this winning combination can persistently be achieved is limited.

It may be that both short- and long-term rates must be permitted to edge upward. I do not believe this would cause an abrupt end to the current expansion in U.S. business activity. For one thing, it should be noted that total corporate plant and equipment outlays in recent years have been financed principally from internally generated funds. Use of monetary policy seems the most desirable among the alternatives facing us. It affords the speed that our present circumstances warrant, while at the same time granting us the flexibility in approach that the uncertainty of future economic events demands. This approach does not hinge on Congressional action, but decisions to move in this direction would of course be affected by a tax cut and fiscal policy.



Official measures to affect private economic activity are in the best interests of economic efficiency when they exert indirect and general pressures, avoiding as far as possible direct controls on market transactions. Further monetary tightening is desirable. But we should also avoid placing the entire burden on monetary policy. It is only prudent and proper that, wherever possible, we undertake considerable belt-tightening in the vast amount of government expenditures made here and abroad each year.

During the past two years the Treasury and Federal Reserve, in cooperation with foreign central banks, have taken several steps to enable us to finance our deficit in an orderly fashion and to discourage a massive conversion of gold into dollars. The U.S. Treasury has arranged for various European governments to repay ahead of schedule certain U.S. Government loans and has also arranged to borrow for periods of more than one year both dollars and foreign currencies from foreign governments.

IN December 1961 the ten major industrial nations signed an agreement intended to increase the resources of the International Monetary Fund by $6 billion. The principal central banks have also created a "gold pool" designed to maintain an orderly gold market and prevent speculative rises in the gold price. The Treasury and the Federal Reserve have signed reciprocal currency agreements with foreign central banks, making available foreign currencies for use in the foreign exchange markets to support the dollar, particularly at times when political incidents and loss of confidence would otherwise be expected to cause a substantial and disrupting flow of funds.

These various measures have proved to be highly effective and have provided us with more time to bring our international payments into balance. But they do not help to restore that balance.

The extension of foreign credits to the United States and the working out of special agreements to finance our deficit have led to many proposals for a revamping or reworking of the entire international payments mechanism. It is undoubtedly worth while for the experts of the ten industrial countries to study the long-range adequacy of the present system, and perhaps they will suggest some useful changes.

Standing out from all these actions, however, is the need to face up to our own critical problem and to accept here at home the discipline necessary to balance our international accounts quickly and in an orderly fashion.

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The perplexities of international trade from a national and international point of view are discussed by Roy G. Lucks, chairman of the California Packing Company. His essay is based on a recent talk in Tokyo to Keizai Doyukai, the Japan Committee for Economic Development.

THE NEW GEOGRAPHY OF TRADE

By ROY G. LUCKS

A LITTLE MORE than a year ago the free world was on a rising wave of optimism about economic cooperation through liberal economic relations. In the United States the Trade Expansion Act had just been passed, granting the President the most authority ever given for reducing American tariffs. Japan had just begun freeing 88 per cent of her imports from quantitative restrictions. Negotiations for a discussion of admitting Great Britain to the Common Market were proceeding—if not smoothly, at least hopefully. The American balance-of-payments problem seemed to be abating, and it was hoped that the U.S. could give up certain restrictive measures it had adopted. We were looking forward to a grand round of negotiations in which the developed countries would substantially reduce trade barriers among themselves and with less developed countries.

All this meant more to the U.S. than expanding opportunity for economic growth through trade and capital movements. It also meant another step toward unity of the free world, essential to its survival. Even more, it meant a step toward weakening the force of nationalism that, although once an ennobling idea, had become an irrelevant restriction on human spirit and energy in the age of space.

The world looks sadly different today. Britain was not admitted to the Common Market. America's balance-of-payments deficit has worsened, and in response we have taken a number of measures, including one proposal to limit the outflow of American capital. This has caused concern in Japan and, we understand, some reconsideration of Japanese policy toward liberalization of trade and capital movement. Serious difficulties have arisen on the road to the next round of trade-barrier reductions, making the outcome uncertain. Perhaps most ominous, the voice of nationalism is heard more loudly in the land.

Overoptimistic a year ago, we should try to avoid being overpessimistic today. This applies particularly to the new round of reductions of tariffs and nontariff barriers to trade. We are now in the early stages of bargaining about these reductions. In any process of bargaining a point is likely to be reached when each party has asserted its maximum claims, and it is discovered that these claims cannot all be met at once. Then it appears that the negotiations will surely fail. But as discussions continue it is often found that the parties will be satisfied with something less than their maximum demands. Agreement may then be possible on terms which are not best for anyone but which are superior to no agreement for everybody. So we should be careful about judging the outcome of the current trade negotiations from the difficulties that have arisen in their early stages.

Still, it would be unrealistic to deny that the road to economic integration of the free world will be more rocky than it seemed a year ago. There are several reasons for this.

One is the change in the world political situation in the past twelve months. It is worth remembering that a year ago the critical showdown between the U.S. and the Soviet Union over missiles in Cuba occurred. A year later we had agreed on the nuclear test ban, and other tension-reducing possibilities were under discussion. Certainly this change in the international atmosphere is welcome. But it has contributed to a feeling that we can afford the luxury of going our separate ways in the free world, now that abatement of the Soviet threat has reduced the critical need for unity. This is a dangerous delusion. There is as yet no assurance of a permanent thaw in the cold war. Moreover, it is wrong to regard the unity of the free world as only a defensive and negative strategy, to be abandoned whenever we feel safe enough. The integration of the free world should be sought as a means to economic, political, and moral objectives that are important to us.

Another difficulty in the free world's economic integration is the uncertainty of the future course of the European Six. The Six have had a miracle of economic growth in the past decade. The establishment of the Common Market has contributed to this prosperity, as well as to an outburst of creativity in many directions other than economic. Out of this experience has emerged a curious mixture of self-confidence and fear—self-confidence that the Six, by themselves, can do all manner of great things; and fear that closer contact with the rest of the world would dissolve the bonds joining the Six. But the great men who first inspired the Six did not have this insular attitude. They visualized an outward-looking community, not the creation of a new nationalism. What the result will be in the tug-of-war between inward- and outward-looking forces of the community is still uncertain. But for the present there is danger that agreement within the Six can be purchased only at the price of insulation from the outside world.

It should be recognized that big steps toward liberalizing international trade have been taken in the past ten years. This is a cause for satisfaction. But it is also true that the steps taken first were naturally the easiest ones and the steps

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still to be taken are more difficult. Agriculture is the obvious example. For years we were able to make progress in liberalizing trade while regarding agriculture as exempt from this policy. But now we are left with agriculture as a major part of the actual and potential trade subject to substantial restrictions. There is no longer room for significant progress that does not include agriculture. Yet we all know how difficult it is to include agriculture, partly because agriculture is economically less adaptable than many other industries, but principally because agriculture is politically powerful everywhere.

Further liberalization of trade has also become technically more awkward to handle. I think it is now generally understood that significant progress will require tackling a wide variety of nontariff barriers—including some taxes, national procurement policies, customs valuation procedures, labeling requirements, and so on. The sheer diversity of these barriers makes them difficult areas for negotiation. Their quantitative significance is hard to evaluate. Many of them are closely tied in with domestic policies, and we are unaccustomed to thinking of them as subject to international negotiations. Certainly in the United States, but also elsewhere, government authority to negotiate is more limited than in the case of tariffs. But progress in the technically easier field of tariffs is likely to be contingent on some agreement in the technically more difficult field of nontariff barriers.

All this, and other points that could be mentioned, makes an impressive series of obstacles to trade liberalization. This creates a heavy responsibility. Those who trade in the world market know what economic gains we can realize from freer participation in it. Those of us who have traveled and discussed our problems with colleagues in other countries know that we are and that we want to be not only Americans, Europeans, and Japanese, but also members of a larger community.

We must keep our governments from being led into paths of isolationism by narrow economic pressures and by vain dreams of national glory. We must help to find solutions for the real problems that exist, and these solutions must contribute to the integration of the free-world economy. I am convinced that such solutions can be found, if we will approach the problems objectively. Above all, we must keep before our people and our governments a true picture of our priorities. Our economic relations should bind us together. Let us not permit them to become a source of irritation and disunity. Nothing that divides us is as important as the great interests that unite us.

The Businessman's Bookshelf

By EDWARD C. BURSK, *editor, Harvard Business Review, and educational director of the International Marketing Institute.*

Individualism and Big Business. *By Leonard R. Sayles. McGraw-Hill.* 200 *pp.* $6.95. Is it true that big business eats away at the souls of those who come within its grasp? Not at all, finds the author of this careful, factual study. The "organization man" is a myth.

The Road to Huddersfield: A Journey to Five Continents. *By James Morris. Pantheon.* 235 *pp.* $4.95. The needs and problems of industrialization in underdeveloped areas come to life as Morris describes them. In terms of sheer literary artistry, this is one of the best business books in a long time.

Modern American Capitalism: Ideologies and Issues. *By R. Joseph Monsen, Jr. Houghton Mifflin.* 142 *pp.* $3. With its magnificent record of accomplishment, why does capitalism confront such a serious challenge in nations overseas? Here are some good clear answers and thoughtful recommendations for policymakers.

The Quest for Industrial Peace. *By David L. Cole. McGraw-Hill.* 164 *pp.* $4.95. A top expert in the field pleads for better recognition of the real strength of collective bargaining, warns against too frequent intervention by government, and shows how labor relations can be improved.

Disarmament and the Economy. *Edited by Emile Benoit and Kenneth E. Boulding. Harper & Row.* 310 *pp.* $5.75. Fifteen economists consider what disarmament would mean for various industries and regions—employers, employees, and investors. Various national policies to ease the adjustment are also discussed.

Managerial Long-Range Planning. *Edited by George A. Steiner. McGraw-Hill.* 334 *pp.* $7.95. Seventeen experts describe in detail how leading U. S. companies and organizations approach the planning task. IBM, Ford, Allstate, American Airlines, and NASA are among the organizations described.

The American Federal Executive. *By W. Lloyd Warner, Paul Van Riper, Norman H. Martin, and Orvis F. Collins. Yale Univ. Press.* 405 *pp.* $7.50. This scholarly, scientific investigation answers such questions as: What kinds of men and women hold high posts in government? How did they get there? How do they compare with business leaders?

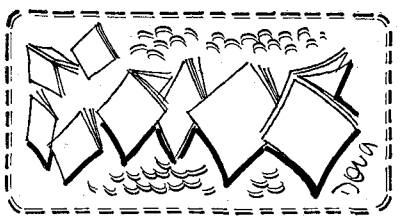
The American Economic Republic. *By Adolf A. Berle. Harcourt, Brace & World.* 247 *pp.* $4.50. In practice the U. S. economy is not what it is in theory. In his usual provocative manner, Berle writes that the reality is more ingenious, inspiring, and promising than the classical theory.

Beyond the Welfare State. *By Gunnar Myrdal. Yale Univ. Press.* 287 *pp.* $4.50. The function of national planning, Myrdal argues, is to reduce the burden of government intervention—to simplify state policies so that private initiative has more scope and importance.

Problem-Solving Discussions and Conferences. *By Norman F. Maier. McGraw-Hill.* 261 *pp.* $6.95. A leading social scientist examines the unique requirements of different types of decisions and shows executives how to do a better job of handling those problems that come up before groups to deal with.

Cities and Space. *Edited by Lowdon Wingo, Jr. Johns Hopkins.* 261 *pp.* $5.50. These discerning essays—one by a lawyer, one by a psychiatrist, two by economists, the rest by city or regional planners—go into the kinds of policies needed for sound urban growth.

Schedule, Cost, and Profit Control with Pert. *By Robert W. Miller. McGraw-Hill.* 227 *pp.* $8.50. Raytheon Company's "Mr. Pert" shows how useful the new method is in managing and carrying out complex special-purpose programs. Managers of space-age research and development are not the only ones who can profit from this book.



Marketing and the Computer. *Edited by Wroe Alderson and Stanley J. Shapiro. Prentice-Hall.* 443 *pp.* $10. Experts from business and teaching show how computers can help executives get more information, evaluate it better, and exploit it for operating and planning decisions.

Forecasting Sales. *National Industrial Conference Board.* 109 *pp.* $15. In its traditionally thorough, factual, down-to-earth style, the NICB examines practices, problems, and techniques in company forecasts.

Leasing of Industrial Equipment. *By Richard F. Vancil. McGraw-Hill.* 283 *pp.* $12.50. The functions and effects of financial and operating leases are rigorously analyzed. The author also offers useful advice on how to negotiate a financial lease.

The Technological Order. *Edited by Carl F. Stover. Wayne State Univ. Press.* 292 *pp.* $6.95. These proceedings of a recent Encyclopaedia Britannica Conference include provocative papers by a French philosopher and a Soviet economist as well as by U. S. authorities.

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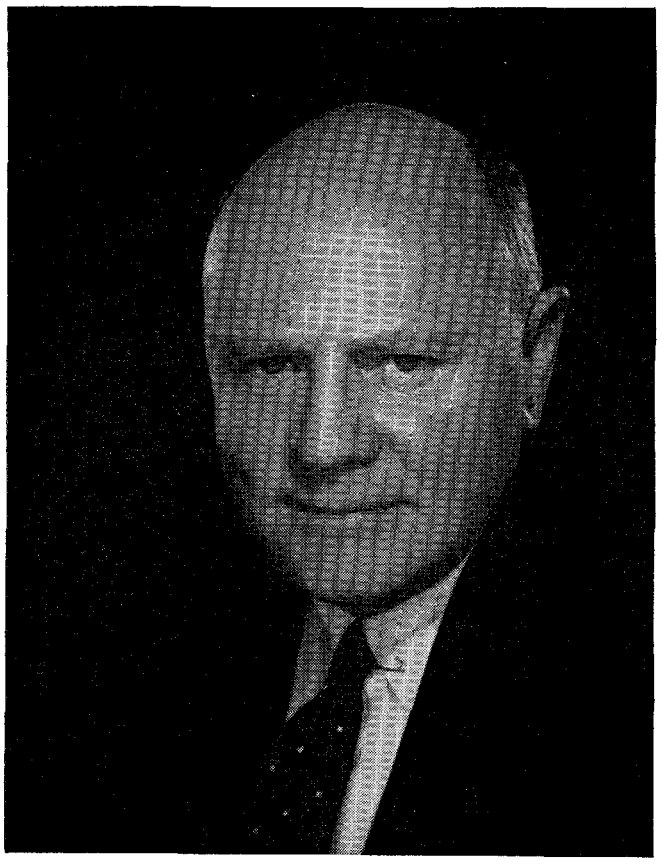

GEORGE H. LOVE

A Key Strategist In a Crucial Year

IT IS more than mere chance that the highest gross national product in the history of the United States or any other country—$600 billion—coincided last year with record-breaking automotive sales. For Detroit is a massive mainspring coiled at the very heart of the American economy.

Detroit's 1963 achievement in selling some 7,500,000 cars undoubtedly buoyed the national economy, even as the sustained surge of the total economy made the motor city tick.

If 1963 was essentially an automotive year, then the company of the year was the twelfth largest concern in the United States, the Chrysler Corporation. Its 75,000 stockholders and 98,000 employees were participants in one of the most dramatic comebacks in modern financial and corporate history in this country.

This turnaround from disaster to triumph, involving the fate and fortunes of thousands of individuals, was the product of many talented, hard-working executives, but the principal architect of Chrysler's remarkable progress was George Hutchinson Love, chairman of the board and chief executive officer.

A tall, vigorous, unassuming man, Mr. Love weaves the varied strands of his private corporate interests together with the broad public interest at stake in any major industrial enterprise in a manner to serve both. His quiet, consummate skill in both arenas has mirrored *Saturday Review*'s own conviction that in our complex socio-economic system the modern executive must embody a personal commitment to the good society as well as the sound economy in order to make our system work. Out of this conviction, *Saturday Review* established its annual Businessman of the Year award. The 1964 citation goes to Mr. Love.

There is no exact parallel in American industry today for George H. Love's role as the chief strategist for Chrysler's recovery at the same time as he was functioning as chairman of the board and chief executive officer of another major company in a totally unrelated field: Pittsburgh's Consolidation Coal Company, the largest and most prosperous coal company in the U.S. He divides his time about equally among Pittsburgh, Detroit, and wide-ranging business trips around the country in his corporate plane, a schedule that adds up annually to about 200 days and 75,000 miles of travel in quest of fresh ideas, new people, and undeveloped markets.

This quest reflects the man and his methods, methods he has pursued since he graduated from Princeton in 1922 and the Harvard Business School in 1924 and undertook the herculean task of leading the archaic, chaotic, desperately ailing coal industry into an era of stable order, modern technology, and relative prosperity. His Consolidation Coal Co. now nets $20,000,000 a year regularly, a performance that helped accumulate the substantial capital reserves Mr. Love called on when he committed himself to reorganizing Chrysler.

It was thirty-eight years ago that he entered the coal business at the request of his uncle to try to save the family's declining mine properties in Pennsylvania. He had the same purpose then that he has today in whatever he turns his hand to: to make them into efficient, profitable enterprises. This seemed visionary at the time, but Mr. Love is a man of practical vision. Researching his product and his market in a way his tough-minded oil and gas competitors came to respect, he improved his product by new cleansing methods to get premium prices, mechanized his mines, replaced mules and picks with high-speed machinery that today enables one miner to grind out nearly seventy tons of coal a day, turned toward large industrial customers such as utilities and steel mills instead of hundreds of small households and factories, closed down marginal mines and expanded productive properties, and attracted the investment backing that led to mergers and a larger, more efficient, and more profitable mining company.

It required vision to perceive the possibility of such measures. It involved a principle that is a hallmark of Mr. Love: taking a single step at a time. It has been

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observed in recent times that the start of a thousand-mile journey is but a single step. Yet one must make the right step at the right time in the right direction to complete the journey. This step-by-step procedure has been both a basic principle and subtle art of Mr. Love.

Coupled with his sense of purpose and principle was a personal confidence in people that enabled him to select, inspire, and develop talented executives to whom he could delegate full authority and responsibility. This left him free for creative activity on the growth frontiers of the business that finally produced the profits and progress originally envisioned.

This combination of operating philosophy and management skills made Mr. Love one of the most respected leaders in the business community, yet one who also enjoyed the confidence and friendship of such a savage baiter of mine owners as John L. Lewis, the formidable chieftain of the miners' union. It was in head-on combat with Lewis that Mr. Love demonstrated he could learn from a disastrous experience instead of being panicked or warped by it. As the designated spokesman for the mine owners in the harsh, prolonged negotiations with Mr. Lewis that eventually broke down in acrimonious failure and led to the costly 1949-50 strike, Mr. Love determined that this kind of deadly economic conflict must be avoided in the future. He managed to persuade Lewis that genuine consultation and cooperation were in the mutual interest of the union and the owners. He ultimately established a remarkable accord with the miners' chief and thus laid the basis for the thirteen years of uninterrupted labor peace the coal industry has enjoyed since. Out of all this also came the National Coal Policy Conference—an association of the mine operators, the union, the railroads hauling coal, the manufacturers of mine machinery, the public utilities, and other major coal users—which has spoken ever since with one voice in Washington and elsewhere on behalf of coal. This original concept became a model for other industries with urgent problems in the area of public policy or regulation.

Although little known to the general public, because he has preferred to work quietly behind the scenes with a minimum of personal fanfare, Mr. Love is widely known in business and financial circles. He is a director of the General Electric Company, the Union Carbide Corporation, the M. A. Hanna Co. of Cleveland, the Mellon National Bank & Trust Co. of Pittsburgh, and the Pullman Co.

It was against this background of varied experience, financial associations, and solid achievement that Mr. Love made his decision in 1958 to accept an invitation to become a member of the board of directors of the Chrysler Corporation. When Chrysler's "conflict of interest" scandal exploded in 1960 and toppled the corporation's incumbent management, Love was named part of a small committee of directors to untangle the mess and get the corporation out of the difficulties that had blemished its public reputation, hurt its profits, shrunk its share of the automotive market, and largely demoralized its executives, employees, dealers, and stockholders.

The committee finally delegated this task almost entirely to Mr. Love.

This was a crisis on a large scale that offered a major test for his methods.

His main purpose was to "change the image"—and reality—of the Chrysler Corporation from that of a dubiously managed enterprise to one of efficient, dynamic leadership that would inspire confidence inside and outside the corporation. This required, first of all, a new president of established stature and impeccable reputation.

None of the top executives wooed at General Motors and Ford could be lured away to Chrysler. It was at this point that Love's principle of "step by step" proved itself. The able administrative vice-president of Chrysler, forty-four-year-old Lynn A. Townsend, was made president in July 1961, and in September of that year George H. Love became chairman of the board. Townsend's drive and vigor were reinforced by Love's seasoned financial and executive statesmanship.

Love developed the broad strategy to tidy up Chrysler's disorderly operations and sullied reputation. Townsend operated the company and implemented the strategy with resourceful, tireless ingenuity on the tactical sales, promotional, and management fronts. The new team proved to be a natural. Furthermore, to dramatize his own commitment to the success of Chrysler, Mr. Love has invested $53,000,000 of his own and Consolidation Coal's money in Chrysler stock. (He and Consolidated Coal now own some 2,900,000 shares, or about 7 per cent of the outstanding stock.)

In talking a few days ago of the extraordinary progress the corporation has made since 1961, Mr. Love, slouched at informal ease in Chrysler's New York headquarters, said: "It was just a case of taking some simple steps, one at a time. And we have been fortunate. First, we found the best man to head the company. The organization from top to bottom has backed Lynn Townsend 1,000 per cent. Then we were able to put a star team together around him.

"Then the public backed us when we gave them a chance to come back. [Chrysler stock has risen over 500 per cent since 1961.]"

Mr. Love also acknowledged the role of market conditions in Chrysler's comeback. "We've been fortunate," he said, "that these were good automotive years. We have been able to sell our cars and to increase our penetration of the market. [The steady decline in Chrysler's share of the car market halted last year, and is now up to about 13 per cent from 9.6 per cent in 1962.] We've been fortunate to gain 400 new dealers after losing perhaps 900, many of whom were among our best. You're as good as your dealers. The 400 really represent a net gain, so we have actually signed up about 800 new ones to replace another 400 less satisfactory dealerships that were also closed out. We now have about 6,000 dealers and we've stopped the flight of the good ones. We have a sound dealer organization at last. In fact, this is the most dramatic comeback of a major corporation in my experience. We had expected to take four years to reach where we are today after only two years."

IN making its comeback, Chrysler sold more than 1,000,000 cars and trucks last year, compared to 892,299 in 1962. Dollar sales for the same period totaled more than $3 billion, compared to $2.3 billion for the preceding year, and the bleeding away of profits was halted. Compared to net earnings that had declined to only $11 million in 1961, the corporation earned well over $100 million last year.

The prospects for the future are even more pleasing, according to Love, as the new management team moves in a "mobile and flexible pattern, permitting quick-on-the-trigger action to take advantage of situations while they are hot."

Chrysler's chairman also spoke frankly of the recent flare-up in the Senate and press over substantial stock option profits earned by the corporation's senior executives. Pointing to the press reports on his desk, Mr. Love said, "I don't understand it. We have been working to restore public confidence in the conduct of the corporation's affairs. To that end I have directed that we act publicly, not secretly; that we keep the public fully informed. These stock option sales have to be reported to the Securities Exchange Commission. They are neither secret nor illegal nor improper, but are a means of enabling the senior executives we have recently brought into the company to share in its ownership and in the benefits that accrue from their success in building up its profits and value. I wanted these sales reported publicly so that no one would think any

(*Continued on page* 86)

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Science Teacher: New role for a newspaper

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"To monitor the heartbeat of a mouse in a rocket," the expert answered.

The expert is Gary Smaby, a ninth-grader at Ramsey Junior High, Minneapolis. He's 14.

Because of this kind of enthusiasm among youngsters and adults alike, the Minneapolis Tribune has instituted a weekly Science Reading Series—illustrated articles by internationally famed scientists and nationally known science writers.

This "first-of-its-kind" feature is offered in preprint form to science teachers as a study supplement in secondary schools throughout the 3⅓-state Upper Midwest. More than 2,000 educators are now using the series, which won a publishers' association award for "the best newspaper idea for 1962."

Authorities like Drs. Harlow Shapley (Astronomy), Hugh Odishaw (National Academy of Sciences) and John O'Keefe (Space) are on the Tribune's impressive roster of science writers. An advisory board of 14 educators helps keep terminology tailored to schoolroom comprehension.

Although this Tribune series is only in its second year, the "newspaper in the classroom" concept is a matter of established educational practice in the Upper Midwest. The Minneapolis Star's Program of Information on World Affairs —now used by more than 1,000 schools and 80,000 students—is in its 18th year.

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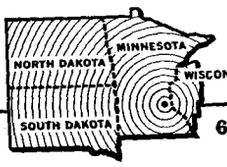

Minneapolis Tribune MORNING SUNDAY

650,000 SUNDAY • JOHN COWLES, *President*

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Accent on the Individual

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The author of the following guest editorial, written for this special business issue of SR, is Gabriel Hauge, president of the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company.*

THE story of America can never be told in terms of a slide rule projection or a blueprint construction. Rather, it is the realization—and sometimes the half-reach or the near-miss, of the boundless expectations of individual Americans, dreaming, planning, and doing.

We have never lacked achieving individuals to show the way. What America may now lack is a widely enough held belief that the way is, indeed, open. There are many who feel that the future offers limited surprises; that the best opportunities, like the richest lodes, have been exhausted; that the promising paths have been explored and are mired in restrictive traffic rules; that a man starting out can rise, but only so far before coming to a stop sign; that the specialization and automation of the industrial order stifles the individual; that the spread of urbanization is leaving its adverse imprint on him; that the ramifications of government are constantly encroaching on his freedom; that the overhanging hazard of nuclear incineration renders the concept of individual significance futile.

Many people today seem to view the individual as an abstraction, the pale reflection of his social milieu, a creature of emotion and anxiety whose beliefs and desires are not really his own. Such an individual, it is felt, cannot be the foundation stone of a responsible civil polity or a self-regulating economic system. Such an individual needs first security and guidance, not freedom and wide options.

We do well to question sharply the earlier idea of society as interaction between sturdy, independent souls, just as we have long since relegated to the dustbin of history the Robinson Crusoe model of the private enterprise economy. By the same token we should reject the opposite extreme: the Bo Peep state comforting a nation of lost sheep. Human nature is plastic and infinitely varied; these traits have made and can continue to make civilized man the creator and master of his own environment.

The potential withering of individuality through specialization can be offset through vocational and professional training or by diversity in the leisure part of lives whose work is routine. The disciplines of large organizations can be lightened by decentralization.

In cities, traditional citadels of freedom and diversity, there can be compensation for a certain impersonality of life. The sense of community can be preserved: public service opportunities are numerous and constructive activity groups can serve as a replacement for old neighborhood relationships. Mobility must be reconciled with belonging.

Historically, the flowering of individualism has always occurred in a context of economic freedom. Emphasis on individual opportunity and responsibility leads, in economics, to the individual enterprise system. Voluntary associations of individuals for producing, earning, spending, and saving, operating through competitive markets, provide our best chance for freedom and choice. The role of business is thus not a matter of taste, but of fundamental values.

A preference for private action and for institutions scaled to individual goals means, politically, a government limited in function, representative in form, and diffused in power. Just as the state is not society, so government is not the people. This does not mean that its agenda is not long, for it is, and properly so. But since government is only one, albeit the major, mechanism for collective action by citizens in our kind of society, the non-agenda of government is also long.

We properly utilize government for many ends: to strengthen the operation of free markets, to promote the vigorous and steady economic growth that provides expanding job opportunities, to supplement the market system in those areas where it alone cannot as well provide certain essential needs, to provide a floor under living levels for those who cannot do it themselves, to give protection from abuses of private economic power from whatever sector, to bring opportunity within the reach of all through education, to open the door to all careers, to guard freedom, to dispense justice.

Our concern is that necessary public power be a good steward in the service of the freedom of the individual; that the bias of government be always in behalf of the individual; that big government respect small groups and local purposes; that it keep open that wide range of alternatives without which there is no freedom.

THE prerogatives of individuals are, of course, qualified by the rights of others. The sovereignty of each nation is likewise circumscribed. The freedoms of all are enlarged by transforming conflict into competition, isolation into consultation by means of trade, investment, and growth. We export values along with our goods; we may import understanding. A successful domestic economy and a free people, openly trading, serve to strengthen our hand in helping developing nations help themselves.

If people are to heed the call for individual self-determination, they must hear it first. For the ultimate freedom is the freedom to discipline oneself. Then, to paraphrase the resounding profession of faith of the late William Faulkner's Nobel Prize acceptance speech, the individual will not merely survive, he will prevail.

—GABRIEL HAUGE.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Search for a Remedy

MANY PEOPLE NOTE that President Kennedy's assassination exemplifies a "streak of violence" in our society. They often suggest that the most fitting memorial to Mr. Kennedy would be for each of us to work to reduce the poison of hate that corrupts our civilization. This is true, but it does not go far enough.

Let us make an organized, forceful attack on the problem. Moralistic exhortation and individual effort, however sincere, will not suffice. Let us treat the matter as a serious social problem, to be dealt with as we deal with other recognized problems—by marshaling qualified people, backed by adequate finance, to dig out facts and use them intelligently to bring about an improved situation. Let us make a scientific study of the roots of hate in our society.

President Johnson might convene a "Commission for a Human Society" including competent psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, historians. Or the group could be organized by prominent private citizens. This commission would have the job of studying the problem of violence and hate in society, and then of informing us of their educated judgment concerning causes and remedies.

It may be that not much new research will be required. Perhaps most of the needed knowledge is now available. But nowhere is the gap between *knowledge* and *operative knowledge* more tragic than in this situation, as a psychology-obsessed society ignores elementary psychological and sociological truths, with recurrent tragic results.

Tragic as is the Kennedy assassination, it represents only one outbreak of a force that can bring mankind the even greater tragedy of nuclear war. If we really mean what we say about honoring John Kennedy by working for peace, we can do it—by putting competent people to work on the problem, with adequate financing and prestigious backing so their voice will be heeded.

GEORGE G. HILL.

East Meadow, N.Y.

TODAY I STOPPED at a candy counter for a malted milk. While paying the check, I saw a mother buy her son a box of caps for a toy pistol. I couldn't help wondering if Lee Harvey Oswald had had a cap pistol when he was a boy.

Then I came home and in an editorial in *SR* read the following: "If the President's assassin had been unable to obtain the murder weapon, his bitterness would not have been lethal."

I see a definite relationship between a toy pistol and the elaborate, Italian-made gun used to kill President Kennedy. If guns were not easy to purchase, if the use of guns were not an acceptable demonstration of manhood, if the toy gun and the simulated sense of power which accompanies its owner while playing at cowboys and Indians or cops and robbers were condemned by parents, would the violence that took place on November 22 have occurred? Would little children, dashing about the parks and playgrounds of New York City on November 23, 24, and 25 have shouted, "Bang! You're dead!"?

PRISCILLA SABBETH.

Brooklyn, N.Y.

"Caswell, how many times have I warned you not to barge in here without knocking!"

Need for an Ideal

JOHN GARDNER'S EDITORIAL "Moral Decay and Renewal" [*SR*, Dec. 14] translated into articulate prose some of the observations that I have made lately as a teacher. I have encountered some of those young people who are consciously searching for "models of what man at his best can be." The failure of society to provide the model is a matter of real concern to them. Their confusion, and perhaps disillusion, in reconciling the real and the ideal does not seem to be answered by a "freshness of vision"; nor do they appear able to rebelliously strip away the hypocrisy that they meet daily in their closest associations. I don't think, even if we adults could provide more constructive outlets, such as the Peace Corps, for these restless people, that such participation is the answer. And I don't think that honestly telling them that they must do what we have demonstrated we cannnot do is the answer.

Moral rebirth and renewal imply a parentage that has exercised its own moral order. Young people cannot be expected to understand the nurturing process until their values have been nurtured. Young people cannot find themselves until they have found a mature and active adult whom they can emulate.

The crucial concern of every careful reader of Mr. Gardner's article is simply that we adults offer visible truth to these young people today who are so anxiously looking for it.

CYNTHIA DIAMOND.

San Jose, Calif.

MANY THANKS TO John Gardner for his eloquent observations on a neglected problem. It had a special relevance, coming as it did only a few days after President Kennedy's assassination.

P. R. SMYTHE.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Dissenting Opinion

I WAS DISAPPOINTED by Robert Lewis Shayon's imperceptive comment that Group W is "doing something" about improving programing [*SR*, Dec. 21]. If he listened to their stations, he'd find that the conferences they hold apparently don't have much impact on their practices.

I live in a community with a Westinghouse radio and television station. Periodically they schedule a "public affairs special" to let us know how wonderful and responsible they are. During the rest of their broadcast day, however, we get poorly chosen music, an excess of commercials, and disc jockeys who sound as if they are on loan from a nursery school.

It's my impression that Group W makes a million by practicing the worst kind of broadcasting imaginable and then spending a portion of it as "conscience money" on a "special" or a conference.

Before Mr. Shayon praises Westinghouse for its conferences, he ought to listen to its stations—not the specials, but the day-in, day-out sludge that seems to pay so well.

WILLIAM SHEPHERD.

Brighton, Mass.

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BOOKED FOR TRAVEL

Moonward Ho!

PRESIDENT JOHNSON's Thanksgiving Day decision to rename Cape Canaveral in honor of John Kennedy adds yet another compelling facet of interest to this stark stretch of Atlantic duneland. For years it was only a wasteland roamed by an occasional wildcat, but its emergence as a space center, and its ultimate use as a moonport, have made it one of the prime areas of fascination in the U.S. today. Disneyland, beware.

Oddly enough, Cape Canaveral itself is closed to the public. An offshore sandbar like the Outer Banks—or, for that matter, like Palm Beach and Miami Beach—the Cape is a bulge of land separated from Merritt Island by the Banana River. Merritt Island is separated from the mainland of Florida by the lagoon known as the Indian River. Travelers who come down from the north on U.S. 1 can now cut across a new causeway at the metropolis of Sharp and run eastward, which is to say, seaward over the Indian River, Merritt Island, and the Banana River, in that order, emerging at Canaveral Harbor and Port Canaveral. From that point one can see the Navy ships, including, now and then, a submarine that has been ordered to test its Polaris missile firing devices on the Atlantic Range.

A short ride farther on and the road is barred. A guard turns back all those without credentials, but even those permitted past the gates travel on the understanding that they must carry no cameras, film, or camera equipment, no alcoholic beverages, private firearms, knives, weapons, or personal ammunition. Private radiotelephones must be sealed. Somebody calling his wife from the car telephone might send a man to the moon by mistake.

While all these precautions are considered vital, the exclusion of rubberneckers from the Cape Kennedy work area is based more on traffic hazard than security. The barriers went down for a Sunday test some time ago, and while it had been hoped to open the Cape to visitors in order to give taxpayers a look at what they were buying, the possible entanglements of traffic brought about a more conservative policy. Some 20,000 citizens work on the Cape. Since the entrances and exits are so narrow, quitting time begins at 3:30 and workers are then let off in stages fifteen minutes apart. While the twelve-mile run to Cocoa, where many of them live, could be made in half an hour, if a bumper-kissing should occur the tie-up could stretch the trip an hour or two and involve 15,000 cars. Visitors who drive over the new causeway or come up from the south will do well to schedule their visits for midmorning, thus avoiding commuters at both ends of the day.

The tourist belt of the Kennedy Space Center (a new name also ordained by President Johnson) extends from Port Canaveral with its Navy ships, shrimpers, and bottom-fishing party boats southward through fourteen miles of sand-flat space jungle to Patrick Air Force Base. A park laid out by the city at the north end of the string has been named in honor of Alan Shepard, whose shot in May 1961 was first in the string of six manned rocket launchings conducted from the base. The Shepard and Grissom landings went off, it is felt now along the Cape, in a rather bizarre, circus atmosphere. The Glenn shot was delayed so long that the writers and telecasters, who somehow are blamed for the prevalent attitudes, are said to have run out of circus stories. From then on a more serious air prevailed, and by the time of the Schirra and Cooper missions, both of which ended in the Pacific, the mien was austere and workmanlike.

Still, there is plenty that is carny about it all. The decision of the astronauts themselves to sell their stories for profit and their decision to participate in a local motel to which they would contribute one way or another —their occasional presence would be enough—did little to minimize the site's evident commercial flavor. Cocoa Beach, which had contained 256 people a decade ago, now houses 7,500. The hamlet, named for a shipwrecked load of coconuts, now sported a four-story, *avant-garde* bank building of curved glass with an elevator sliding up the side to take patrons to the rooftop restaurant. There, in a glassed-in roost above the money, one could dine while enjoying the night view of a bird taking off for outer space. Even the Four Seasons couldn't offer that. What did it matter that a beautiful avenue of Australian pines had to be removed? Their roots were interfering with the sewer line that had to be installed to meet the needs of the new community.

Remnants of the old circus days are still there, of course. At Alan Shepard Park, where one can enter the beach and drive on it for seven miles, a hamburger stand has been erected in clear view of the gantries across the water on the Cape itself. The local barracks that offer rooms with a view of the departing birds are called the Vanguard Motel and the Astrocraft. If you can't drive in for a look at the Cape, at least it is not against the law to jump into a helicopter and gaze down upon it. Pilots in glass bubbles with eggbeaters attached stand ready to hoist aloft anyone willing to pay $5 for the experience. From the commercial pier one can drop coins into a telescope to see what's doing over on the restricted spit. And there is no law against putting to sea for mackerel, blues, or pompano. A good place to stay is the Polaris Motel, just next door to the pier. When the missile-tracking ships with their big ears put to sea, it is time to look skyward. Out along Satellite Beach, as one strand is called, one can fish off the rock breakwater while searching the gantries in the distance for any sign of action.

There is no mistaking the theme along the satellite strip, from the Cape

to Patrick. Those who come in trailers can head for the Celestial Motor Court; single men on a budget might pass a night at the Missile View Men's Dormitory. But even those who live here permanently never veer far from the theme. A front yard decorated with a homemade telescope is not a sight that turns local heads hereabouts.

Cocoa Beach already has eight large motels, including the new Ramada, which, with its 187 units and twenty-three apartments, is the largest in town. Unlike resort centers that flourish to the north and south, Cocoa Beach considers itself no playground, offers no seasonal rates. About $10 for a single room and about $12 for a double, give or take a dollar or two, is the standard commercial rate. Some effort has been made to bring in national trade-marks: one motel already has a Schrafft's franchise, and a new Howard Johnson's is in the making. In spite of the rash of rooms that has spread across the beach, accommodations are frequently at a premium. Oddly enough, the motel managers are never really sure why their rooms are being reserved more feverishly than usual. A retired colonel who manages one large motel here was heard putting just such a question to an officer of lesser rank

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who was well connected with the secret maneuverings on the Cape. "Say, Major," the colonel pleaded one night, "tell me why I'm filling up so fast, will you? You can trust me. Is there a launching scheduled?"

The news of a launching, if made public, would surely bring some familiar faces to the Cape Colony Motel, 35 per cent of which is owned by the original astronauts. Their portraits hang on the walls of the public rooms, but so, for that matter, do portraits of all the subcontractors involved with the project. If these are the patrons and heroes whose pictures are hung before the public, one would have to accept as good art down here a painting of a Polaris missile rising out of the sea. Besides such decorations, the Cape Colony can also offer, now and then, the sight of an astronaut in person. When the famous names are in town, they stay, of course, at their own motel.

Cape Colony is also the nerve center for the entire press during a major shoot. It provides permanent offices for NBC, CBS, *Life*, the Associated Press, United Press International, and *National Geographic*. The AP office, equipped with nine teletypes, is maintained at all times, and the local correspondent has an apartment on the second deck where he can watch launchings from his living room couch.

With available real estate at something of a premium, hotels and office buildings are beginning to rise on land pumped out of the river last year. One of the newest projects, a fifty-two-story laboratory for assembling Saturn lunar rockets, will have 50 per cent more cubic feet of space than the Pentagon, and will therefore be the largest building in the world.

Now the assembly and launching facilities on the 15,000-acre tract of the Cape and the NASA operations on the 88,000-acre tract of Merritt Island are to be jointly known as the John F. Kennedy Space Center. So far about the only exhibit actually instituted for the public's interest is an outdoor museum of old rockets, displayed in front of the Technical Laboratory of the Air Force Missile Center at Patrick Air Force base. Standing alongside route A1A are such relics as a 1950 Matador, a 1953 Snark, and a forty-seven-foot-long Bomarc that could reach supersonic speeds and had a range of 200 miles. The problem facing those employed at the John F. Kennedy Space Center nowadays is getting a rocket and a man to the moon, which is 238,860 miles away. The rockets on display now for the benefit of the passing public may only be a decade old, but they are already paleolithic shards.

—Horace Sutton.

TV AND RADIO

Forecast for the FCC

THE FCC'S New Frontier regulatory posture will not be relaxed in 1964. President Johnson's economy axe may cut the commission's budget modestly and defer some of its projects. And his Administration is likely be be less controversial than John F. Kennedy's. There is also some prospect of a cooling-off period in the agency's relations with broadcasters. These are impressions I gathered on a recent visit to the FCC in Washington.

Chairman E. William Henry was present with other chiefs of the government's regulatory agencies early in December when President Johnson made a speech about re-examining the regulatory role. Many broadcasters' pulses leapt when the President said: "We must concern ourselves with new areas of cooperation before we concern ourselves with new areas of control." Some broadcasters hopefully interpreted that sentence to mean the President wanted cooperation to replace control. An FCC staff member replied, when I asked him what he thought about this, that the President had said "before" not "in place of." The White House, even in normal periods, tends to allow the FCC to run its own show. President Johnson is even less likely to scrutinize the commission's activities while he is facing more pressing foreign and domestic problems and an election.

Of the FCC's seven members, only one, Frederick Ford, is due for reappointment this year. The basic composition of the FCC will remain unchanged —with Commissioners Henry and Cox usually voting for controls, Commissioners Bartley and Hyde for laissez-faire, and Lee and Ford as the swing sector. Commissioner Loevinger, a Democrat, President Kennedy's other recent appointment, seems to favor the Adam Smith corner, where the best of possible worlds grows invisibly in the market place out of allegedly untrammeled competition.

What finally will be done about the number, length, and frequency of commercials? Credit for the original proposal of relief for saturated listeners and viewers rests with Commissioner Lee. He suggested several years ago that the FCC adopt as its rules the provisions governing commercials set by the Code of the National Association of Broadcasters. The industry objected. Newton N. Minow did not at first favor Commissioner Lee's proposal. He suggested instead that the industry be permitted to police its own standards.

Mr. Minow eventually lost faith in an industry do-it-yourself program. When Commissioner Cox joined the FCC, the former chairman served notice that something would have to be done about excessive commercials. Broadcasters thought the issue died when Minow resigned. But Chairman Henry revived it.

The commission heard oral arguments for and against limiting commercials in mid-December. Commissioners Henry, Lee, and Cox were ready to vote for a definitive policy, Ford, Bartley, Hyde, and Loevinger were a negative majority. Commissioner Ford, after much discussion, seemed ready for a compromise with the affirmative minority, but the outcome is still uncertain.

The FCC report on the oral argument proceedings will not end the matter, in any case. The Commission will probably issue a new application form for station license or renewal in 1964. Applicants will be required to indicate the total amount of commercials they will broadcast, their duration, and their frequency.

ALL the commissioners are convinced that the FCC has the statutory authority to regulate advertising on TV and radio. In the classic posture of resistance to every regulation, even those that help it in the long run, the broadcasting industry has turned to its protector, Congress. A House Committee has formulated a bill to take away the FCC's authority to limit commercials by rule—but the bill is ambiguous. Congress apparently seeks to appease the broadcasters by instituting measures to "stop" the FCC. At the same time, because irritation over commercials is endemic even among avid television and radio fans, Congressmen are not likely to pass a bill that establishes them as defenders of too many commercials.

The commission is proceeding not by rule but by defined policy on the processing of applications. Congressmen who want the FCC to handle limitation of commercials on a case-by-case basis know that the Commission is made least effective this way. Its standards become loose and lack uniformity. The FCC needs a policy on commercials that serves the public without crippling the broadcasters economically.

—Robert Lewis Shayon.

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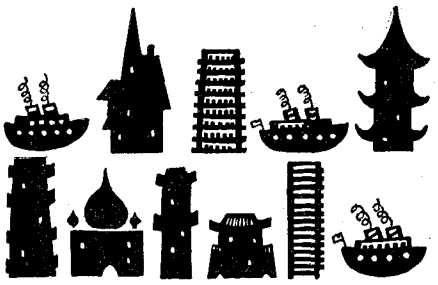

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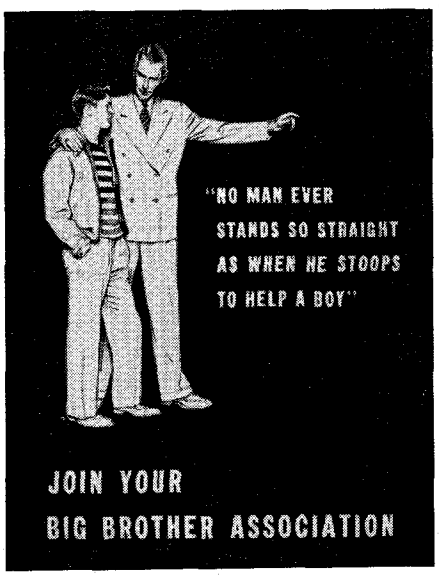

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BROADWAY POSTSCRIPT

Oh What a Lovely Depression

THE Actors Studio Theatre production of June Havoc's *Marathon '33* is unsparing in its efforts to paint a large canvas of America at its sleaziest and most pathologically desperate. Peter Larkin's shabbily glamorous reconstruction of a marathon dance palace, Conrad Janis and his Tail Gate Five's renditions of the sentimental pop tunes so shamelessly used to prettify the inherently ugly proceedings, and the entire company's pains to reflect without extenuation the depersonalized, purposeless, sadistic manifestations of a 1933 craze are all there to remind us how a depressed nation found perverse pleasure in watching the suffering of others.

What this *Grand Guignol* does not do is to interest us very much in the individual fate of its participants, or to create dialogue that makes the play's action explicitly significant. Julie Harris, who gets and deserves applause for her gritty willingness to perform dances and acrobatics, and at one point to attempt a vaudeville technique completely alien to her, does not really create for us the "Whatever Happened to Baby Jane?" transformation suggested here and there as the reason for her action. Conversely, Lee Allen is so wonderfully effective as a first-rate clown that we find it hard to believe that he is really a frustrated honor student in engineering. As a result, *Marathon '33* seems less a play than it does a descriptive work of art.

As the latter, however, it does conjure up a number of memorable images. The chief executioner who keeps rapping the tired contestants with a ruler whenever the dancing is not lively enough, the couples chained together for cruel sprints after a thousand hours of dancing, the vicious fight in the women's rest quarters, are just a few of the true-ringing incidents that should outrage us all. If we had seen the contestants reacting to these outrages as they had every right to, it would have been more dramatic, but perhaps it is the author's point that, in fact, the contestants did accept it all apathetically and that this apathy is more horrifying than the marathon dance itself.

Equally unsparing in a smaller-size treatment of American degradation is Ronald Alexander's new comedy hit, *Nobody Loves an Albatross*. In it we watch Robert Preston doggedly salvaging elusive virtue in the character of an unsympathetic TV writer called Nat Bentley. Nat is described as one of the great liars who can always see his own reflection in the eyes of others when they are not telling the truth. He is that current American type, the man with no talent who easily bluffs the talented people he exploits, but whose supreme achievement is to outbluff the untalented master bluffers around him.

Much as one would like to applaud Mr. Alexander's progress from family-type comedies like *Time Out for Ginger* to a more realistic and cynical view of things, it must be reported that this new play's demonstration of backstage TV infighting seems a random selection loosely tied to a nominal plot, and that, entertaining as some of the scenes are, the whole work is not tightly constructed enough for farce and not humanly revealing enough for comedy.

IT would appear that Noel Coward is doomed to a financially lucrative but esthetically exasperating search for a way of writing that will truly suit his facile talent. About the best thing one can say about his latest effort, a musical titled *The Girl Who Came to Supper* (based upon Terence Rattigan's *The Sleeping Prince*) is that it is not as bad as *Sail Away*. One might also add that Oliver Smith's scenery is ingenious, that Irene Sharaff's costumes are dazzling, that Joe Layton has created one brilliant dance number, and that, with the flimsiest of excuses, the show is suddenly brought to life by a British music-hall star named Tessie O'Shea who is just about the most good-heartedly vigorous middle-aged female entertainer since Kate Smith broke into vaudeville doing the Charleston.

But almost everything else in the show defies the performers. The songs have a Noel Coward flavor but snobbishly refuse to do any work at all. The characters have petty tiffs but never appear deeply concerned or passionate about anything. Indeed, one is tempted to guess that the blasé sophistication we tend to associate with Rattigan has been compounded by two other masters of sophistication, Mr. Coward and José Ferrer (who plays the playboy prince). In these circumstances Florence Henderson cannot be blamed for not seeming anything more special than the title implies. There is not necessarily anything wrong with treating life gaily, but unless that gaiety is related to people who, underneath it all, really care very much, we can become as bored as the insouciant characters we are watching.

—HENRY HEWES.

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LITERARY HORIZONS

The Exotic Side of Everyman

IN 1927, when he was nearing forty and had already published six or eight volumes of poetry, Conrad Aiken brought out his first novel. In the next twelve years he wrote four others, and the five have now been assembled in *The Collected Novels of Conrad Aiken* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, $7.95), with an introduction by R. P. Blackmur.

As a poet Aiken belongs to an extraordinary generation. Looking through F. O. Matthiessen's *Oxford Book of American Verse*, I have again been impressed by the sequence of dates. Robert Frost was born in 1875, Carl Sandburg in 1878, Vachel Lindsay and Wallace Stevens in 1879, William Carlos Williams in 1883, Ezra Pound in 1885, Marianne Moore and Robinson Jeffers in 1887, T. S. Eliot and John Crowe Ransom in 1888, Aiken in 1889, Edna St. Vincent Millay and Archibald MacLeish in 1892, E. E. Cummings in 1894, Allen Tate and Hart Crane in 1899.

Of all these, none has been more prolific and none has been more versatile than Aiken. In addition to a great quantity of poetry, he has written much sound criticism, many fine short stories, and the five novels collected here. And, though he will be remembered principally as a poet, his work, as Blackmur observes, is all of a piece.

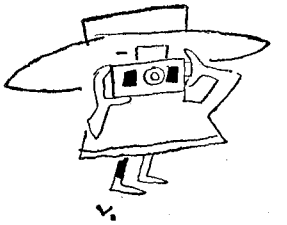
Blue Voyage seems to me the best of the novels, but that may be because I remember so well my first reading of it. At any rate it has considerable historical importance, for in it Aiken combined techniques that had been influenced by Joyce with insights that had been fostered by Freud. Countless novels have appeared in the past three decades that are indebted in one way or another to *Blue Voyage*.

As is common enough today but was not thirty-seven years ago, there is almost no conventional exposition. We are simply given the fact that William Demarest, a thirty-five-year-old playwright and poet, is crossing the Atlantic. Who and what he is we discover, as the novel progresses, by way of interior monologues, reminiscences of childhood, fragments of poetry, pure fantasy, Joycean puns, literary echoes, meditations on the creative process, and a series of realistic, objectively reported episodes of life on shipboard. (In this, as in all the novels, Aiken does wonders with overheard bits and pieces of conversation; if he had wanted to be a realist, he could have been a good one.) On the ship Demarest encounters Cynthia —she is symbolically traveling first class, he second—with whom he is romantically in love, and the effect on him of this encounter is the book's theme. Richly embroidered, full of striking innovations, the novel moves at its own pace to a neatly ironic ending.

Less experimental but more dramatic in its impact is a short novel, *A Heart for the Gods of Mexico*. Noni, a young woman who has learned that she has less than six months to live, decides to go to Mexico so that she can get a divorce and marry Gil. Gil, an ineffectual idealist, accompanies her, and so does their friend Blomberg, who is in his own way in love with Noni and who knows her secret, as Gil does not. The account of the long, uncomfortable trip in day coaches is beautifully done, reflecting Aiken's intense awareness of the American scene. As the journey proceeds, the tension rises until it is hard to bear.

King Coffin I like less than the others, though it is skilfully constructed, has brilliant passages, and evokes in a remarkable way the atmosphere of Harvard Square. A kind of thriller, it describes the manner in which a Dostoevskian character, Jasper Ammen, goes about the planning of a pure murder—a murder committed for murder's sake. If the book is a little disappointing, it is because Aiken's portrayal of Ammen yields no particularly noteworthy insights. Aiken, quite rightly, does not want to make the novel a psychiatric case history, and yet he is aware of the psychotic nature of Ammen's behavior. Somehow, between philosophy and abnormal psychology, the character slips away from us.

The other two novels depict domestic crises. In *Great Circle* a man discov-



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ers his wife's infidelity, and the novel describes his efforts to come to terms with the discovery. Aiken makes brilliant use of the interior monologue, and there is a particularly fine reminiscence of childhood, which is something Aiken always does well. *Conversation* presents a commonplace kind of quarrel between a husband and wife. The bickering is rendered with all of Aiken's skill in realistic dialogue, and there are some tender scenes between the husband and his small daughter. Since the husband is a painter—almost all of Aiken's heroes are engaged in the creative arts—we are once more led to examine the operations of the poetic imagination.

Although he gave some fifteen pages to Aiken's poetry in the *Oxford Book,* Matthiessen did not discuss his work in the introduction. Obviously there was too much to say about some of his more famous or more controversial contemporaries. That, I am afraid, is typical. Certainly Aiken has not been neglected; he has had many honors. His, however, is not one of the names that come quickly to our minds when we think about modern poetry. Yet for fifty years he has been there, and his presence has been felt and will continue to be felt.

"Morning Song of Senlin" is the first poem of Aiken's I can remember reading, and I am still fond of it:

> It is morning, I stand by the mirror
> And tie my tie once more.
> While waves far off in a pale rose twilight
> Crash on a white sand shore.
> I stand by a mirror and comb my hair:
> How small and white my face!—
> The green earth tilts through a sphere of air
> And bathes in a flame of space.

The inextricable intertwining of the commonplace and the mysterious has been Aiken's constant theme in poetry and prose. It may be noted that the three parts of "Senlin" are entitled "His Dark Origins," "His Futile Preoccupations," and "His Cloudy Destiny." On the one hand, Senlin is a kind of Everyman, who combs his hair and smokes his pipe and does "the things my father learned to do." On the other, he is a strange and wonderful creature, as, I think Aiken believes, is every human being.

The best parts of the novels are very much like the poems, but, as I have tried to point out, Aiken has many of the specific attributes of a writer of fiction—skill in dialogue, narrative force, a way of making his people recognizable even when they are mysterious. It is good to have his novels in print.

—Granville Hicks.

THE PUBLISHING SCENE

The High Cost of Reading

1. The Hardbounds: When Volume I of Shelby Foote's history of the Civil War came out in 1958 it sold for $10, a fat price even for those days, although admittedly the book itself was pretty hefty (840 pp.). By the time Volume II was published late in 1963, however, the price had risen to $12.50, with the result that it cost 25 per cent more to get from Fredericksburg to Meridian than it did to go from Fort Sumter to Perryville. Not only General Grant but inflation had overtaken the Confederate forces.

To the well-read man, inflation seems to have overtaken most books. An admirer of George Santayana may wonder why two recent volumes, published almost at the same time (by different firms), should bear identical price tags, although one represents almost twice as much book as the other. *Persons and Places,* Santayana's autobiography, is 611 pages long and sells for $7.50. *Santayana: The Later Years,* by Daniel Cory, runs 330 pages and costs $7.50. What kind of whimsey is this?

True enough, the longer volume is actually a reprint of two previous books, and presumably was made from existing plates. But $7.50 for a 330-page biography? The average price of biographies published last year, based on a sampling made by *Publishers Weekly* of eighty-nine books from forty-six publishers, was $6.43, and most of these were fair-sized tomes. People, of course, don't buy averages; they buy specific books, and more and more the feeling is growing that prices are pushing the upper limits.

Nathalia Ginzburg's *Voices in the Evening* is a novel of 171 pages. It sells for $4.50. *Decision-Making in the White House,* by Theodore C. Sorenson, is published by Columbia University Press at $3.50. It is ninety-four pages long—or short. Farrar, Straus is getting $3.95 for Colette's 161-page memoir *The Blue Lantern.* These prices are about par for the nine-hole course, but there is one thing you have to give the publishers credit for—they don't "bulk" these little books the way they used to. Twenty-five years ago a 120-page novel would be made to resemble *Gone with the Wind* (a thick stock was used, something like blotting paper). Today, they are sent into the world just as they are—small and expensive.

One could get into a bootless discussion on the advantage of pricing books on the basis of quality rather than net weight, and I, at least, am willing to pay more for 161 pages of Colette than 480 pages of Harold Robbins. But the fact remains that the publishers themselves structure their prices, in theory, according to a "formula" that includes production costs, sales and advertising, royalties, and general overhead, in about that order. Yet as an explanation for current price trends even this is unsatisfactory. For example, although the average production cost of all trade books published last year was 35.8 per cent of the wholesale price of the book, the range, as it varied from one publisher to another, extended from a low of 17 per cent to a high of 59. This variation not only indicates considerable flexibility in manufacturing methods and quality of product, but also suggests that the cost of making some books does not really have much to do with the price.

The buyer for a large New York bookstore believes that "formula pricing" is only a floor for the retail price. "The formula tells a publisher what he must charge to break even, not what he *can* charge," this man states. "It sets the lower but not the upper limits of what a book should sell for." These upper limits, I take it, are controlled by such intangibles as competition, the general inhibitions of the market at any given time, and Sex. (Don't laugh. One reason for the high price of such books as *Lady Chatterley's Lover,* $7.50 hardbound, and *Fanny Hill,* $6.95, is the legal expense involved in defending them in court. Another reason is psychological: if a book is banned, it must be dirty. If it is dirty, it ought to be expensive. That way, my kids can't afford to buy it.)

The buyer quoted above also cites what he calls the "need" or "tool" book, which as a group tends to cost more per page than most. These are frequently hobby or business titles which students or practitioners of the subject cannot afford to be without, and oftentimes cannot afford to buy, either. Since there is usually an assured if limited market, price may bear little relationship to the cost of production. "People *expect* to pay more for this kind of book," is one retailer's explanation.

For whatever reason, it would seem that the cost of learning is outpacing the cost of living. Figures compiled by *Publishers Weekly* show that fiction averaged out at $3.29 in the fall of 1953,

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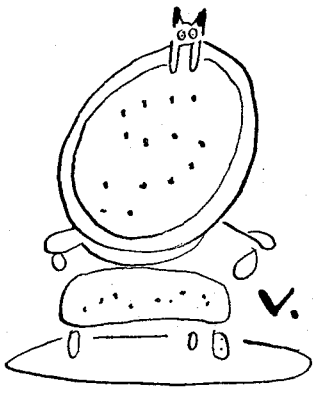
whereas a comparable sampling ten years later came to $4.52—a jump of 37 per cent. Biographies also went up 37 per cent, and history about 18. A more meaningful comparison is to take the Consumer Price Index (100 for the base period 1957-59) and see what has happened to book prices as measured against the Index trend. Here we find that whereas the Index has gone up 7 per cent to the fall of 1963, the price of novels rose a minimum of 16 per cent, history went up almost 10 per cent, and biography jumped 30 per cent.

Publishers admit that the trend is spiraling, but they insist, too, that the figures are deceptive in at least one respect: for a good many years, they contend, book prices lagged behind the general rise in the cost of living and only now are they catching up. (To "catch up" over the long haul, they must "run ahead" on the short.) You can accept this explanation or not, but there is considerable evidence that something like this has been taking place. In any case, people are buying, even though they complain. In fact, twice as many books are sold today, even on a per capita basis and at today's prices, than were sold ten years ago.

Publishing being the crazy business it is, who wants to begrudge a publisher his excess profits anyway? "Probably the great majority of new 'trade' books are published at a loss—which is not usually a great one," Dan Lacy, managing director of the American Book Publishers Council, has written. He continues: "Most of what a customer pays for a book in a bookstore goes not to get it written, or printed or published, but rather to get it distributed to him." The retail mark-up today is around 44 per cent; and by the time shipping and billing costs are added, the figure is almost half the cover price of the book.

The next time you spend $7 for a book, it is well to bear in mind that one firm has calculated its profit on the initial printing at a modest 35¢ per copy, which will not be earned at all if the book flops. This may not ease the pain, but it helps explain a statement made to me by a publisher some time ago. "If we're going to go broke," he said, "we'd rather do it by charging too much for our books than by charging too little." I must report that at this writing the company is still very much in business.

2. The Paperbacks: If there is a fairly consistent pattern in the pricing of hardbound books—namely, up—the paperback picture can only be described as confusing. "Sometimes I suspect the whole publishing industry went crazy when Anchor came out with its first books," writes a correspondent, T. E. Blackburn, editor of the *Marquette University Magazine*. "For example, how come Mentor has what purports to be the complete *Federalist Papers* for 75¢ while Anchor has a selection for $1.45? There is, I take it, a difference in paper quality, but one suspects that other considerations are playing a major role. What are they?"



One consideration is simply that the paperback book industry, during the past ten years, has become two industries: the segment that sells to the mass market, and the so-called "quality" imprints whose distribution, generally speaking, is organized around the bookstores. Both types of publishers used to be called reprinters, but the term no longer applies since a fair proportion of all paperbacks these days are original books. Moreover, the mass-market people have gone in heavily for "quality" titles, while the "quality" firms are now invading the fringes of the mass market.

Matters are further complicated when one considers that there are 335 different paperback imprints on the market today; that many companies publish the same books at different prices; that some of the largest paperback houses are owned by several trade publishers jointly, who individually bring out their own softcover lines; that paperback editions often appear *before* the hardbound edition of the same book, making the latter, in effect, the reprint; and that no one in the industry seems to know just where all this is going to end, let alone how it got started.

Normally, the competition generated under these conditions tends to hold prices down, but in publishing you can make out a strong case that it has actually pushed them higher. With an increasing number of firms bidding for the same books, advance royalties guaranteed by the reprinter have skyrocketed, and this money must be written into the price of the book. Trade publishers in many cases are also finding it more profitable to hold their best books off the open market in order to bring them out as house reprints.

To cite a recent example, Heinrich Boll's novel *Billiards at Half Past Nine* was reprinted in soft covers by McGraw-Hill at $2.95. A book of comparable size and public acceptance is Brian Moore's *An Answer from Limbo*. In its Dell edition it sells for 50¢. An equally puzzling business is *Salinger: A Compendium of Critical Opinion*, which is available as a Pocket Book at 50¢ at the same time that it is being sold as a Harper Colophon paperback for $1.75. Interestingly from a cost viewpoint, the Colophon edition was printed from existing plates while the Pocket Book had to be reset.

Again: If you buy Little, Brown's paperback reprint of *Wickford Point* you pay $1.95. The Bantam reprint is 75¢. Dell's *Kidnapped* is 35¢, Signet's is 75¢. But the classic example is *Hamlet*. It can be purchased for 35¢, 45¢, 50¢, 65¢, 95¢, $1.40, $1.50, $1.65, and $1.95, all in softcover.

When the reprint business was run by relatively few companies publishing a limited number of titles, it had (without realizing it) reached the apex of its efficiency. The automatic distribution system that formerly made low prices possible no longer applies across the board, for with the proliferation of companies—and books—the distribution problem is becoming essentially the same as it has been for the hardbounds, which is to say inefficient. A wider choice of titles, more outlets, more "originals," and more customers has had the effect of forcing prices up; and the consumer, paradoxically, is paying more for books today not because the industry has failed but because it has succeeded—too well.

"Maybe the whole subject of book prices ought to be suppressed lest the publishers find out what's going on," Mr. Blackburn notes in his letter; and I, for one, am inclined to agree.

—David Dempsey.

FRAZER YOUNG'S LITERARY CRYPT NO. 1066

A cryptogram is writing in cipher. Every letter is part of a code that remains constant throughout the puzzle. Answer No. 1066 will be found in the next issue.

LFNQCZ MHAFK LZ ESZTFK

OPQLMF N OFGPETHCZ HK N

LFNQCZ.

CSPEFNQ

Answer to Literary Crypt No. 1065

Skilled verse is the art of a profound skeptic.

—Valery.

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The Rest Is Still Silence

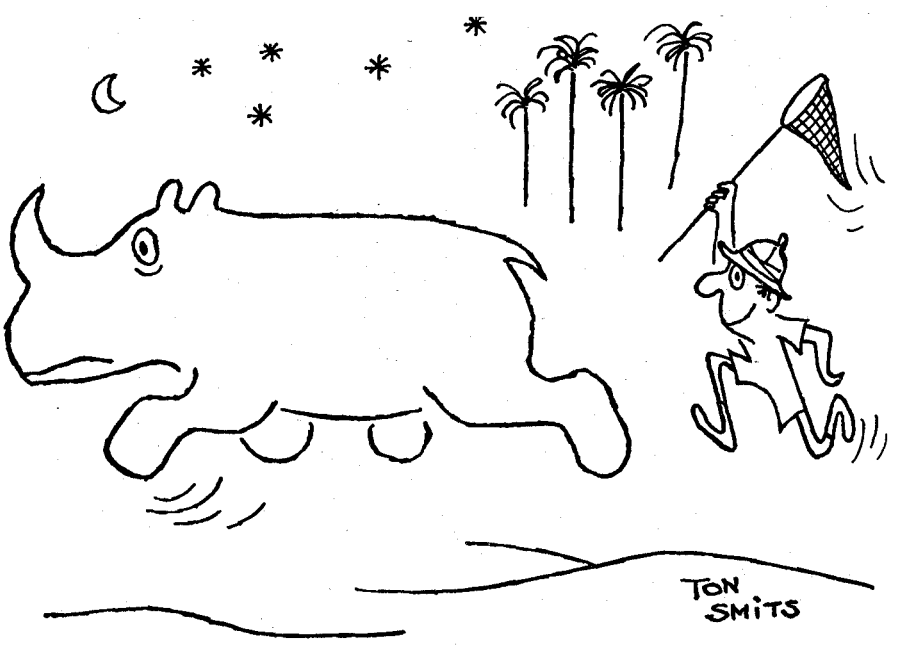
__William Shakespeare,__ by A. L. Rowse (Harper & Row. 485 pp. $6.95), and __An Introduction to the Sonnets of Shakespeare,__ by J. Dover Wilson (Cambridge University Press. 109 pp. $2.75), represent a biography by a noted historian and a study issued by a noted scholar "for the use of historians and others." Bernard Grebanier, professor at Brooklyn College, is the author of "The Heart of Hamlet" and "The Truth About Shylock," among other books.

By BERNARD GREBANIER

A. L. ROWSE approaches the writing of this new biography with signal advantages. He is master of the political and social history of Shakespeare's times; his prose is lively; not least of all, he does not, like most professional literary scholars, ask to be excused from esthetic judgments. He reveals himself a man of sensitive taste and sound appreciation. ("Brutus has the fatality of the idealist. . . . He has no understanding of what human beings really are like." *Troilus and Cressida* is "brilliant, disquieting, disenchanted;" it was written as "part satire, part farce, part bawdy, but more that was deeply serious.") Moreover, his wide knowledge of the era constantly enables him to conjure up, in association with Shakespeare's lines, enriching details of Elizabethan life.

These are the things that make his book rewarding. He sometimes thoughtlessly accepts the traditionally unperceptive attitudes toward characters like Shylock, Julius Caesar, or Cassius, and indulges some unwarranted assertions, such as that Berowne is "speaking for Shakespeare," or that "of all Shakespeare's characters Ulysses is the one who most completely expresses his creator's view" (not easy to prove!), or that Hamlet *is* Shakespeare (didn't that die with Frank Harris?). But all this is unimportant. No work covering Shakespeare's career will satisfy any informed reader in every detail.

It is unfortunate, however, that Rowse's publishers have emphasized the *newness* of his views, particularly as solving "the problem of the Sonnets" and "the date and occasion of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The claim, being invalid, has already wrought injustice in the British press upon all that is valuable and interesting in his book. On these matters Rowse has really nothing new to say. As long ago as 1817 Southampton was held to be the young man addressed in the Sonnets; Sidney Lee's biography of the poet elaborated upon the theory in 1898; it has been upheld by many others—only the other day by Peter Quennell.



That the "Mr. W. H." of the Sonnets' dedication was not that same young man, and may have been "the only begetter" of them in the sense that he was the one who *got* the manuscript for the publisher, Thomas Thorpe (signer of the dedication), is also an old idea. Sidney Lee thought W.H. was William Hall, a friend of Thorpe's. Rowse's "new" notion is that he was Sir William Harvey, third husband of Southampton's mother; but C.C. Stopes had convinced the learned Furnivall that such was the case sometime before 1910, and she herself advanced the idea in her biography of Southampton when it was published in 1922.

Rowse's "discovery" of the date and occasion of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*—that it was written for the nuptials of Southampton's mother and her second husband, in 1594—can also be found in Mrs. Stopes's book. (I have never heard of any other date's being advanced for that play.) Strangest of all, considering Rowse's zest for his "discovery," he has read Mrs. Stopes's biography of Southampton: he quotes from it extensively. At the worst, however, Shakespeare himself would hardly call these excessive claims to novelty a species of tragic flaw.

But a very serious objection must be made to Rowse's book, in common with most modern Shakespearean scholarship. In a commendable desire to keep literary criticism out of the stratosphere, scholarship has emphasized the study of the facts of history, environment, editions, dates, sources. A worthy endeavor *—when these materials can indisputably be related to a given work of literature.* What has happened, however, is that the enthusiasm for facts has become as mad and irresponsible as the earlier school of criticism's preference for uninformed rhapsody, because now the work as a piece of literature is totally ignored.

The heart of Rowse's book is his extensive examination of the Sonnets. To bolster the Southampton theory, he must date them all 1592-1595, when Shakespeare had hardly formed his style. Rowse adduces all kinds of external evidence, none of which could be proved as necessarily applying to the Sonnets. And the Sonnets themselves? Shakespeare underwent a highly discernible progress as a stylist from an early reveling in words and an ornamental grace to a later terseness and intensity of expression, becoming with time more and more severe. Anyone following his plays in roughly chronological order cannot escape noticing this development. Sonnets 53, 153, and 154 (the last two of the series) are plainly very early Shakespeare; the majority of the Sonnets must have been written after 1595; the condensed, pow-

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erful terms of Sonnets 30, 64, 65, 107, 116, and 146 certainly place them as late as the years of the great tragedies. Here Rowse the historian leaves unconsulted the judgment of Rowse the man of literary taste.

The dean of Shakespearean critics, J. Dover Wilson, is on the surface better off. His dating of the Sonnets does no violence to their style; he can ascribe them to the periods in which they must have been written, and admit that the order of their printing does not correspond to the order in which they were composed. But that is all more or less the lucky accident of his particular theory. For Wilson adheres to the school that would have Pembroke the young man of the Sonnets. In establishing the case for *his* hero, however, Wilson uses methods fundamentally the same as Rowse's. He squeezes the Sonnets into his theory, instead of beginning and ending with the Sonnets as poems. That is the sort of thing Wilson has been doing all his life with the plays, and I have long wished that someone would commission me to write a book pointing up the numerous outrages his practice of forcing Shakespeare's works into the mold of Wilson's theories have visited upon the plays. This little opus contains, among other surprises, an ingenious piece of legerdemain in which the person who gave Thorpe the manuscript of the Sonnets is identified: the Dark Lady herself!

What do the Sonnets themselves say? It is amazing to find anyone at this late date pretending, as do both these men, to find a story told in them. I defy anyone to outline that story, sonnet by sonnet, as should be possible if story there were. At the most, it could be agreed that one seems hinted at. Shakespeare had no superior in the knowledge of how to tell a story; yet the Sonnets are grouped in a way alien to anything like a narrative, in two distinct sections: 126 to the young man, the last 28 to the Dark Lady. Within each group, moreover, the so-called story seems to turn back upon itself again and again. There is no reason to think the Sonnets any more autobiographical than the plays just because the best of them are so deeply moving.

I am perfectly happy believing the Sonnets not autobiographical. It enables me to concentrate upon what they are as poems. That is more than either Rowse or Wilson can do—the former finding in Sonnet 107, for instance, a report on Henry of Navarre and the Lopez case, the latter one on the death of Queen Elizabeth, thus effectively ignoring the exaltation and passion of this great love poem—which it could hardly be, and be a discourse on contemporary politics at the same time.

A. L. Rowse: A Study in Versatility

IN THIS four-hundredth-anniversary year of Shakespeare's birth, a new biography of the Bard has, one might say, aRowsed the world of scholarship on both sides of the Atlantic. A. L. Rowse is not one to shun controversy, even on an international scale. (In the 1930s in England he bitterly fought in the arena of practical politics.) Although he is most noted as a historian, he wields exceptionally powerful weapons in this foray into literary biography: at Christ College, Oxford, he won a coveted scholarship in English literature; and in his great output of historical writings he has proved himself a disciple of George Trevelyan, who advocated and practiced history as a branch of literature. Rowse's several volumes of poems and the memoir of his early life, *A Cornish Childhood*—which is a minor classic—, further illustrate that he combines his historian's role with that of the literary artist. In his own words, he stands for "a marriage of history and literature."

His body of work is extensive enough to show dazzling abundance and variety. So far he has published about twenty-five books; some half a dozen deal with England in the time of the first Elizabeth, and his main reputation as a historian rests on these, particularly *The Expansion of Elizabethan England* and *Tudor Cornwall.* Rowse's historical studies are brilliant evocations of the past, and, although he based them on original sources, he has blown the dust off the documents and old chronicles to make their story glow with the life of those times imaginatively and intuitively recreated. His two-volume biography of the Churchill family unfurls a splendid English pageant, beginning with their rise in the West Country in the seventeenth century and ending with the invincible and indestructible Sir Winston. He has also written on the art, philosophy, and interpretation of history, and, recently, on the appeasement that preluded World War II. If there is any single quality that informs all his voluminous writing it is (in his own phrase) "that ultimate touchstone of all history, a sense of life."

His person and personality sparkle with that same "sense of life." When you meet him you notice his green eyes darting with dangerous awareness, his olive complexion, his firm, clefted chin, and his head set on a robust, chunky body, combative and alert as a gamecock's. But you forget what he looks like when he begins to talk, in a brilliant and torrential outpouring accompanied by quick, impatient gestures. When he says something witty, which is often, he looks at you expectantly; but before you can show appreciation he punctuates the flow with "What, what? eh, what?" and continues his verbal display.

His range of knowledge is encyclopedic, but at the same time crisply opinionated. His favorite and frequent epithet of scorn is "second- and third-rate people." Having a prickly temper, he is impatient, as easily irritated as he is spontaneously pleased. "I am a hundred-per-cent Cornishman," he has said; and he thinks of himself as a Celt, perceptive and sharply sensitive in an un-English way. He clings to his origins with such tenacity that no matter what corner of the world he alights in he finds fellow Cornishmen, or at least their names; like the salt of the earth they are scattered everywhere.

Naturally he retains his allegiance to his native soil in a more tangible way. His home is Trenarren, in St. Austell—where he was born in a working-class cottage—, a tidy Regency house which he has been restoring to its original dimensions. It contains part of his huge library, some fine French furniture, and a modest collection of paintings, many of them by Cornish artists. (St. Ives, nearby, is a popular center for English artists.) From the peaceful terrace of Trenarren House one can look over a long, undulating hill, like a svelte green cushion, to the glittering silver sea beyond. Here he spends the summer months, strenuously tending his rhododendron garden. He also has a handsome suite of rooms at All Souls, the Oxford college famous for having no pupils; its Fellows are well endowed (in various ways) and free to pursue their own writing, talking, and thinking without the distraction of teaching. And during the last few winters Dr. Rowse has been a Research Associate at the Huntington Library in Pasadena, where he takes advantage of a great book and manuscript collection, stimulating companionship, and benign climate.

With his biography of Shakespeare noisily launched in England and in this country, he is looking forward to no fewer than three new works to be published this year: a book on Shakespeare's Sonnets, a biography of Christopher Marlowe, and *A Cornishman at Oxford,* the continuation of his earlier memoir. Although he has just passed his sixtieth birthday he betrays no sign of lagging in spirit or industry. On the contrary. No wonder that in his *Who's Who* entry he doesn't even bother to list any recreation.

—Robert Halsband.

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Problems of Prosperity

Challenge to Affluence, by Gunnar Myrdal (Pantheon. 172 pp. $3.95), argues that a stagnant American economy is the world's most critical problem. Henry David, who recently resigned as president of the New School for Social Research, is a professor on its Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science.

By HENRY DAVID

THE UNITED STATES, declares Gunnar Myrdal, is menaced by two grave dangers—one external, the other internal—that it has not yet resolutely faced and that have a common source. The external danger, manifested in the frustration of American foreign policy, lies in its diminishing international power and capacities for world leadership. The internal danger is the rejection of the ideals of liberty and equality of opportunity that is implicit in continuing high unemployment and poverty in the midst of plenty. The source of these twin dangers, each of which is strengthened by interracting "in a cumulative process," is the relative stagnation of the American economy. Together they threaten, Myrdal asserts, "to move America away from that liberalism in thought and life that is not only the hope for a happy future for the American people itself but . . . for all humanity." Consequently, how to assure a rapid and steady growth of its economy is not only the United States's most pressing problem, but also "the most important problem in the world today. . . ."

Challenge to Affluence brings together and expands upon themes developed by Myrdal in such earlier writings as *An American Dilemma, An International Economy,* and *Beyond the Welfare State,* and more particularly in a series of recent papers and lectures prepared for American audiences. Included in the book as an appendix in his commencement address at Howard University in June 1962, in which Myrdal sketches the history of the American Negro since Emancipation, notes the advances he has made since the 1940s, and speculates, essentially optimistically, on the future course of integration. Here, too, he states: "If economic stagnation should be the lasting condition for the American economy in the decades to come, it will for America spell frustration internally and externally, and it might even slow down the trend of Negro advance. . . ."

This book does not purport to be a thorough study of America's internal economic ills, of the weaknesses of its bearing toward the outside world, or of the interplay between the form and content of American political behavior and the alternative courses of domestic and foreign policy open to the United States. It is a sermon delivered by a political economist whose remarkable achievements as a scholar, government official, and international public servant are too familiar to warrant recitation, and whose knowledge of and affection for the United States and its people have been amply demonstrated. Myrdal's identification with the American ideals of liberty and equality of opportunity, repeatedly affirmed, is unqualified, and one can only wish that most Americans had a similar commitment to them. These ideals, which represent for Myrdal the glory and the promise of the American Dream, provide the text for his sermon and shape the terms of his analysis, the character of his conclusions, and the tone of his utterance.

As befits an effective sermon or tract—and no pejorative meaning should attach to either word—*Challenge to Affluence* is didactic in tone, Olympian but not detached in viewpoint, positive in accent, and unabashedly repetitive. It is long on assertion and argument and short on data and the subtleties of economic and political analysis. Its message comes through loud and clear, and that is to the good; for it is designed to turn the nation from complacency about economic and social ills toward a program of remedial action. Too few Americans have given the issues of public policy to which Myrdal devotes attention the serious consideration they merit. If *Challenge to Affluence* does nothing more than set the terms for and stimulate a continuing rational public debate over those issues between now and the election of 1964, it will have performed a most useful service indeed.

Unemployment and poverty are at once symptoms and causes of what Myrdal calls the "remarkably unsatisfactory" growth of the American economy. They represent a waste of productive resources, act as brakes upon economic growth, and give rise to grievous social ills. Neither is subjected to penetrating analysis in *Challenge to Affluence.* Taking issue with economists who hold that increased over-all demand could restore full employment, Myrdal is probably right in stressing the extent to which hard-core unemployment is a function of structural changes in the economy and to which it will not be relieved by higher levels of aggregate demand. He is almost casual in defining poverty—"having to live on an annual income of under $4,000 for multiple-person families and $2,000 for unattached individuals"—and in his treatment of the concept. By invoking other criteria one could argue that his count of the poor in the United States (38 million in 1960) either overestimates their number by almost 50 per cent or understates it by more than 80 per cent. Yet, he rightly indicts poverty as the source of "an ugly smell rising from the basement of the stately American mansion," and correctly describes the substantial minority of poor Americans, whatever their precise number, as being largely cut off from the mainstream of American life as producers and consumers of the goods and services of an affluent society, and even as citizens, for they are politically "unorganized and largely mute."

MYRDAL'S thesis is that America's idealism charts the way for escaping from economic stagnation: "it will not prove possible to change over the American economy to rapid and steady growth without taking vigorous measures to induce greater equality of opportunity and of standards of living." These measures are known and have been applied with success in other Western democracies, notably in Myrdal's own Sweden; and he complains that the United States is backward in failing to employ them. In truth, the reform measures he urges are familiar; they constitute a liberal program that assigns to government primary responsibility—and the requisite powers and functions—for a broadly shared economic and social well-being. An unreconstructed rationalist, Myrdal is both irritated and somewhat puzzled that such a program has not been adopted in the United States. Moreover, his faith in man's capacity for rational economic and political behavior rooted in democratic values is strong enough to sustain the conviction that it would be adopted, given a properly informed electorate.

Most of the ingredients out of which Myrdal compounds his prescription have had their advocates in the United States; many have been cast in the form of proposed legislation. A few, however, are at odds with American habits of thought and feeling. As Myr-

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dal sets them forth, they represent, in most cases, guidelines for policy; the form and substance of policies in concrete terms, as well as estimates of their costs, still remain to be worked out. Nor does it help a great deal to be offered Sweden as a model. No doubt the United States still has much to learn from Swedish experience, but that does not mean that we can simply borrow specific leaves from that volume to solve our problems. Even the most sympathetic reader of *Challenge to Affluence* is likely to stumble if he attempts to translate general guidelines into particular measures. And he will certainly be given pause when he starts to wonder about the political instrumentalities for securing Myrdal's total program.

IN commenting upon the external policies of the United States, Myrdal relies heavily upon the notion that its history has not prepared Americans to be good losers. After World War II, the nation inhibited itself from using its enormous economic and military power to its own advantage. Now, relatively much less strong, it bears with ill grace the frustrations it experiences in dealing with friend and foe alike. "I am inclined," Myrdal writes, "to look upon most of what I consider wrong American policies in the international field in recent years as caused by frustrating feelings of weakness, not the releasing one of strength." As cases in point he cites the policies of blocking the admission of Communist China to the United Nations and of banning strategic exports to the Soviet bloc. Neither policy, he argues, redounds to the advantage of the United States, and both are irrational. An economically strong America, he is persuaded, would perceive differently the Soviet Union's economic progress and the need to maintain its own defense expenditures at current levels. Myrdal holds that the United States would not be faced with its present foreign exchange difficulties if it had provided aid to its Western allies primarily in the form of generous loans rather than outright gifts. His recital of how and why the United States assumed a mistaken stance toward the Common Market is telling.

As a devoted friend of the United States, Myrdal is prepared to speak frankly and bluntly. Some of his observations on the Kennedy Administration, the Congress, business, organized labor, his fellow economists, and the universities, for example, will be found less than flattering. But this should make him no less valuable a friend. He has long ago won the privilege of stepping on a few toes for the sake of a good cause, and even of reminding his readers of his capacity for penetrating insight and practical wisdom.

Banker's Dozen

The Economists of the New Frontier: An Anthology, *edited by B. Hughel Wilkins and Charles B. Friday (Random House. 338 pp. $5.95), collects writings by twelve young university men who were summoned to serve the Kennedy Administration. Karl Schriftgiesser wrote "Business Comes of Age."*

By KARL SCHRIFTGIESSER

NEVER has there been a President more conversant with the esoteric jargon of the professional economist than John F. Kennedy, nor one more interested in translating economic theories into practical use. Woodrow Wilson distrusted economists and did not understand them, but he gave us the Federal Reserve System. Franklin D. Roosevelt was never able to apply a rational economic theory to back up the many vital changes in our economic system that were brought about in the New Deal era. Harry S. Truman signed the Employment Act of 1946, which many believe is the Magna Carta of economic planning, but he shied away from using the tools the economists offered him. Dwight D. Eisenhower was not exactly the economic illiterate he has been accused of being, but he never got very friendly with his official economic advisers, to his historical disadvantage.

President Kennedy would have enjoyed *The Economists of the New Frontier.* Not only would he have understood even its more obscure passages (and they are not many), but, if he had lived to read it, he would undoubtedly have had a great deal of fun with it; for it contains what a dozen of the young men he called from the universities wrote about the American economy before they left their classrooms to try to infuse their theories into the political bloodstream of America.

It is impossible to say, after three years, how deeply the thinking of these dozen men has actually affected the nation. President Kennedy had not succeeded in persuading Congress to go along with his theories on government expenditures, cutting the tax rate, reforming the tax structure, strengthening the relationship of the Federal Reserve with the Administration, and a number of other proposals the germs of which are to be found in these essays.

The men whose prior writings are exhumed from the learned journals where they first appeared are an impressive group: W. W. Rostow from MIT; J. K. Galbraith from Harvard; James Tobin from Yale; Robert V. Roosa from the Federal Reserve; Gardner Ackley from Michigan; Walter W. Heller from Minnesota; John P. Lewis from Indiana; Charles J. Hitch from Oxford; Willard Cochrane from Minnesota and Harvard; David Bell from Harvard; Robert C. Turner from Indiana; and Philip Coombs from Amherst. It is interesting to note in

"Harold's trouble is being full of pat answers in a world grown tired of pat answers."

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passing the absence of any economist of the Chicago school.

These men all hold or have held important posts in the Kennedy Administration, and will probably continue to advise President Johnson, who is apparently not afraid to mingle with eggheads. Ambassador Galbraith, of course, has gone back to school, but Mr. Heller, as this is written, is deep in his studies for the 1964 Economic Report—a document that will be of great significance when it appears this month. By law this is the document in which the President is directed to set his sights most fully on the future economic direction he hopes the nation will follow. Most, if not all, the other contributors will probably continue their work on monetary, fiscal, and debt management problems, on foreign aid, on agriculture, and all the other perplexing difficulties facing the Administration.

DELVING back into the not too distant past when these papers were written, one is impressed with their competence, their style (in most instances), their enthusiasm, and (with few exceptions) their neo-orthodoxy. Taken together, they sum up the thinking that has taken place since John Maynard Keynes's day in the 1930s. They do not offer any startling new theories. But they pull into focus the liberal and intelligent ideas that all but the most conservative, gold-encrusted, balanced-budget tories have come to accept as the conventional wisdom of our times.

Walter W. Heller is of particular interest, since he heads the Council of Economic Advisers and was the principal draftsman of most of President Kennedy's economic utterances. Readers of this CED issue of *SR* should enjoy his discussion of the CED's "stabilizing budget policy," which attracted national attention in 1947. Mr. Heller's essay, written ten years later, manages to convey in brief space an over-all analysis of much of the progressive economic policy with which three administrations have had to deal.

Roosa on the central bank, Lewis on price stabilization, Rostow on economic growth, Bell on the U.S. aid program (of which he is now director), Tobin on taxation, Coombs on economic research are some of the essays most valuable for present-day readers. They do not seem to have dated, as some of Dr. Galbraith's exultant prose about affluence has done.

Although probably intended as a textbook, most of the contents of *The Economists of the New Frontier* can be easily read and understood without too much knowledge of economic jargon. If not essential to an understanding of current economic thought, this is a useful and often exciting guide.

That's the Way the Money Goes

The Cold War and the Income Tax: A Protest, *by Edmund Wilson (Farrar, Straus. 118 pp. $2.95), objects to methods of collecting and spending internal revenue. Political scientist Harry Howe Ransom wrote the recently published "Can American Democracy Survive Cold War?"*

By HARRY HOWE RANSOM

EDMUND WILSON has fallen out of love with America. He tells us about it in a badly argued and sadly disillusioned polemic against government tax and Cold War policies, some of which deserve serious questioning.

Instead of cogent criticism, however, Wilson gives us political surrealism. His is a grim caricature of an America with its citizens stultified, terrified, and frustrated by officially propagated fear of the Russians and the Internal Revenue Service. In the past, Wilson favorably contrasted the United States with Europe and the Soviet Union. Now his country appears to him poisoned by Cold War-spawned giant bureaucracies that are smothering individualism.

What prompted this bitter confession? A self-styled income tax Rip Van Winkle, Wilson awoke about ten years ago to find himself, through "negligence" and not on principle, a tax delinquent, and fair game for what he saw as an unduly oppressive Internal Revenue Service. He found that the IRS has its own spies, possessed of impertinent curiosity about his past political views, his marital history, and how he takes care of his dog. He has some grounds for protest.

This led him, surprisingly late in the game, to ask where the money goes. The answers he found were disillusioning. Most of it goes for past, present, and future wars, bigger and better atomic bombs, projected moon trips, and, in his view, equally unnecessary Cold War preparations of many distasteful dimensions, including capability for chemical, biological, and radiological warfare. Meanwhile, comparatively little money goes for our most crying need, education, and nothing for government support of his pet project, publication of literary classics.

Wilson views the Cold War as the result of American misapprehensions. In an isolationist tone he suggests that America has had little to fear from the Russians because we have no common border with them. Why shouldn't the Russians denounce us as "warmongers," he asks, since we built and dropped the first atomic bombs and went on building bigger ones, all the while encircling the Communist world with military bases, sending troops to "assure our ascendancy" in South Korea, Laos, and Vietnam? And we promoted the arms race. He virtually ignores the fact that Russian foreign policies have been a major contributor to conflict. Wilson finds two reasons why American taxpayers haven't joined him to halt the Cold War nonsense: public ignorance of what is going on and the appeal of the contest with Russia to the "sporting imagination."

Similarly one-sided is his treatment of the income tax and of the IRS laborers in the vineyards where the grapes are nearly always sour. Here again some of his points strike home, such as his characterizing as "medieval theology" sections of the Internal Revenue Code that try to make distinctions among kinds of income and among allowable deductions. But the gibberish and the injustices of the tax code are more accurately traced to the weakness of Congress before powerful pressure groups than to malevolent bureaucrats. As the Kennedy Administration discovered, Congress remains the major obstacle to tax reform. Wilson fails to understand that any tax law aiming at fairness for the individual must leave discretionary power in bureaucratic hands. The rationale for the close scrutiny by IRS to which he so objects is fair enforcement.

AT the heart of Wilson's intemperate polemic is a valid warning. Maybe we will awaken some day to discover that our Cold War bureaucracies have in fact become as repressive and stultifying as they already seem to Wilson. And our defense preparations, unless we constantly re-examine and alter them to fit realities, will in some future day be viewed at best as insanely wasteful or at worst as unalterably disastrous. One can applaud Edmund Wilson for making us aware of these possibilities, if not for his failure to channel his protests and warnings into a more reasonable discourse.

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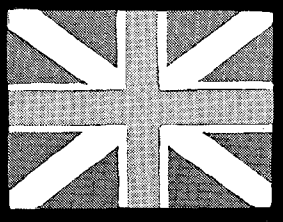
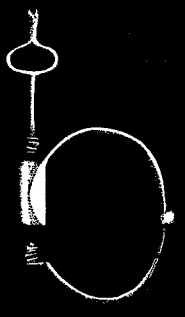
—What do these mean in American history?





The Union Jack! It was stubbornly defended by perhaps the most dedicated foe of the American revolutionary cause, Lord George Germain, secretary of state for England's American Department from 1775 to 1782. The American Secretary was a reactionary, judged inefficient and maladroit in the administration of his high office. He was inflexible and vindictive of temper. Yet upon him fell the weight and responsibility of mobilizing the imperial forces for that great struggle in America, the failure of which signalled the end of the First British Empire. Gerald Saxon Brown's study, based on the largely unpublished Germain papers housed in the William L. Clements Library in Ann Arbor, forces us to revise judgment of one of the least sympathetic yet most important and controversial figures in the drama of the American Revolution.

New Light on
One of the Most Important Figures
in the American Revolution

The American Secretary

The Colonial Policy
of Lord George Germain 1775-1778

by Gerald Saxon Brown

256 pp
$7.50

The shackle! Negro slavery goes back to 1619. *Negro Thought in America* explores the intellectual origins of the forces now fighting segregation and playing an important political, economic, and social role in our society today. "In this important, scholarly work, Professor August Meier has portrayed the mind of the Negro in its varied contours, while simultaneously relating it to the larger American experience."—*Benjamin Quarles*..."a mine of information from which scholars will be quarrying for a long time to come."—*Henry Steele Commager*..."indicates the historical continuity of social action by American Negroes and has great relevance in understanding the contemporary Negro struggle."—*Herbert Hill*..."Meier presents a wealth of detail that has been hidden or buried and makes clear the relevance to the Negro's epic struggle for full citizenship in the U.S."—*Arna Bontemps*.

Racial Ideologies in the Age of
Booker T. Washington

Negro Thought in America: 1880-1915

by August Meier

340 pp
$7.50

The Blue Eagle! Symbol of the National Industrial Recovery Act, which President Franklin D. Roosevelt said would probably be "the most important and far-reaching legislation ever enacted by the American Congress." *The Automobile Under the Blue Eagle* is the first book to analyze the effects of the N.I.R.A. on the automobile industry. Sidney Fine describes the nature of this New Deal legislation, the role of the pressure groups in drafting the automobile manufacturing code, and the N.I.R.A.'s long-range effects on wage-and-hour policies in the automobile industry. Of dramatic interest are the vivid descriptions of the famous Toledo Chevrolet and Electric Auto-Lite strikes. It's all here—including the origins of the U.A.W., as well as the conflicts and forces that pitted government, labor, and management against one another.

The Effects of the N.I.R.A. on the
Automobile Industry

The Automobile Under the Blue Eagle

Labor, Management, and the
Automobile Manufacturing Code

by Sidney Fine

576 pp
$15.00

The University of Michigan Press Ann Arbor

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Legacy of the Mahatma

Kanthapura, *by Raja Rao (New Directions. 244 pp. $4.75), concerns an Indian village swept by the changes that accompanied Gandhi's struggle for freedom. William Clifford, free-lance writer and critic and a member of the India Council of the Asia Society, has visited that country several times.*

By WILLIAM CLIFFORD

INDIA seems to have known more than her share of people seeking all kinds of truth. The title that Gandhi gave to his autobiography—*The Story of My Experiments with Truth*—is significant. Many of the particular truths of Indian life have been revealed in excellent books by foreign observers, the latest and best of which was Bradford Smith's *Portrait of India.* But Indians have often felt that some of the fundamental truths of village life resist foreign ways of observing and recording.

For one reason, there are differences in cadence that often mark real differences in life. Raja Rao, author of the twenty-five-year-old novel *Kanthapura* (now published for the first time in America), says that Indians think, talk, and move quickly, and that their characteristic stories are interminable tales where episode follows episode until thought stops, breath stops, and then one moves on to another thought.

Alfred Duggan—history was a romp.

This is the style he tried to follow in *Kanthapura.* While the result is not a book that is easy to read—not, surely, a successful novel in ordinary terms—it has moments of magic that reveal a highly talented writer. And possibly it adds a new dimension to the truth.

The story is told by a village woman, a daughterless widow of South India. It concerns a typical village swept by the winds of change that accompanied Gandhi's struggle for freedom. A young leader goes off to jail and returns. He has been formally excommunicated from his Brahmin caste, but somehow this is forgotten by most of the people, who honor him for going to prison; and ultimately the village is turned upside down by the challenge of his example.

Here is a less obvious aspect of Gandhi's work, fully as important as his leadership in throwing off the British yoke. The planning and socio-economic development that have revitalized India in the past fifteen years were possible not only because administration passed into native hands but because rigid caste barriers began to crumble. Not every Indian follows the Mahatma's example; but he sparked the tinder that must one day burn away India's prejudices of caste and color.

Nor was the Mahatma altogether successful in the matter of nonviolence. The last half of this novel is filled with details of police brutality, and the amount of violence in Indian life has probably not decreased as a result either of Gandhi's good example or of independence. Fortunately his beliefs and methods have been available to the Negro community in America, if increasingly ignored in his own country.

Raja Rao's unusual book adds further distinction to the list of Asian writings brought out by New Directions in the past few years. It helps to balance any library of Indian works, and it will especially reward any reader familiar with Indian life.

He Remembered Babylon

Besieger of Cities, *by Alfred Duggan (Pantheon. 288 pp. $4.95), centers round the extraordinary figure of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who attempted to restore Alexander's empire. Robert Payne's many books include "The Splendor of Greece."*

By ROBERT PAYNE

THERE are subjects that cry out for good historical novels, but for some reason the novels never get written. We have a wonderful one about Claudius, a dull and crotchety emperor, but no one has ever written a novel that brought Nero or Heliogabalus or even Tiberius to life; and what of Marius, who was murderous in the modern fashion, or Constantine, who succeeded against all probability in being superbly pagan and genuinely Christian? There are twenty Roman emperors waiting for a historical novelist, who has little to do except paint in the background, since the emperors are already larger than life. And it is the same with the Greeks, who were more vivid than the Romans.

Someone should write a real novel about Demetrius Poliorcetes, who was more magnificent than Lorenzo. Plutarch wrote a long essay on him, coupling him with Antony because they both suffered from the same fatal flaws. "Demetrius truly was a perfect play and pageant," Plutarch observes, as though inviting the future novelist or poet to seize the opportunity. Demetrius was born when Alexander the Great was still alive; his father, Antigonus, was one of Alexander's generals; he inherited beauty and skill and cunning and the love of great palaces and sumptuous adornments; he had all the gifts and threw them away. He was a good soldier and a wise legislator, and he ended as a pampered prisoner in the court of his enemies.

Like Antony, Demetrius is a tragic figure, but Alfred Duggan refuses to see the tragedy. He writes about the Greeks as though they were chattering English schoolboys; history becomes a prop for a romp. There is never any feeling that the author is saturated in the past. On the contrary, he goes to considerable pains to suggest that people spoke and felt in ancient Athens exactly as they speak and feel today, and their interminable conversations are interrupted by exclamations of "Dash it all—." The influence of Noel Coward and P. G. Wodehouse is only too manifest. "What can I do for you?" asks Demetrius, and King Pyrrhus replies: "Nothing, thank you. All the same, there's something you ought to know. Trouble is, I can't put a name to it." So it goes on, until the

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Elizabeth Bowen—serious intentions.

reader throws up his hands in despair over the cute rejoinders, the smirks, and the jogging of the elbows. The siege of Rhodes becomes an anecdote, and the Victory of Samothrace is presented to us as a design invented one night by Demetrius as he contemplates the naked body of his mistress.

Mr. Duggan did better with his young Franks in *Lord Geoffrey's Fancy*. He could invent as much as he pleased, and the modernity of the conversations was not displeasing, because it was kept under control. But in *Besieger of Cities* there is no control, and the murderous schoolboys, chattering away, have no relation to any recognizable Greeks. Only once, towards the end of the book, does he suggest the kind of novel he might have written if the stars had been kinder. Demetrius steps up to the footlights and announces:

> I am the new man, the man of Alexander's new empire. My world began thirty-five years ago, when the conqueror died in Babylon. I am bound by nothing that happened earlier. I have no ancestral tombs. Enemies buried my father on the field where he fell. I have never seen my grandfather's tomb, and I'm not sure where it is. My own corpse will lie under some eternal monument, or be shovelled into a trench with the rest of the slain, depending on how my last battle goes. No altar is precious to me. I have watched the dedication of altars to my own divinity, and later heard that they had been overthrown. . . . There are no gods. There are no fatherlands. There are no laws of right and wrong. The world is governed by one single truth —that when danger threatens some men draw their swords and other men run away.

There for once—but only for once—we hear an authentic voice from a recognizable Demetrius. Then the clanging noise of chatter is resumed.

Dash it all.

And Three for Tea

The Little Girls, *by Elizabeth Bowen (Knopf. 307 pp. $4.95), portrays a trio of elderly ladies unburying their pasts. Marghanita Laski, English novelist and critic, reviews for the London Times Literary Supplement, The Observer, and the Manchester Guardian.*

By MARGHANITA LASKI

TWICE in *The Little Girls* Dinah, its heroine, is told by other characters not to be fey, and this is what I want to say, too. Dinah is well over sixty when we first encounter her, a wealthy widow with a *cavaliere sirvante*, packing mementos contributed by friends into a cave on her Somerset estate in order to provide a record for the putative post-cataclysmic future. Fortuitously she recalls doing something of the kind before, and madly—the adverb is literal —advertises for a reunion with her former confederates.

So Dinah and Sheila and Clare, the three old ladies, are first met by us in the present, met again as schoolgirls in early 1914, and once more as old ladies. Miss Bowen has written the kind of novel about them that I find it hardest to know how to review. In any one of those dualities of categorization that critics and reviewers make about novels, *The Little Girls* falls on the worthier side—a serious novel, a novel of serious intention, a novel by an intelligent and perceptive novelist. But never does it achieve what I believe to be the first function of any novel of whatever grade or weight: it never rapes the attention. All these labels—serious, light, crafted, careless, moral, immoral—are properly applied after an experience of emotional involvement in which critical judgment is suspended. If that involvement does not take place, the other questions are, for me, supererogatory.

But not necessarily for all readers. That I can't be involved with, say, *The Golden Bowl* is, I accept, my failure, my inability to adapt imagina-

Your Literary I. Q.

Conducted by John T. Winterich

"DO YOU SOLEMNLY SWEAR—"

Lawyers don't just write briefs. Sometimes they write books, even autobiographies. Helene Nitzsche of Maquoketa, Iowa, lists the names of a score of confessing counsel and asks you to assign the right revelations to the right revealers. Court is adjourned on page 64.

1. Louis Nizer	( ) "The Man Who Rocked the Boat"
2. Newman Levy	( ) "My Memories of Eighty Years"
3. Arthur Train	( ) "Here I Raise Mine Ebenezer"
4. Robert Trevor	( ) "A Segment of My Times"
5. F. L. Windolph	( ) "Philadelphia Lawyer"
6. Brand Whitlock	( ) "Never a Dull Moment"
7. Clarence Darrow	( ) "The Country Lawyer"
8. Martin M. Frank	( ) "Forty Years of It"
9. George W. Pepper	( ) "A Southern Lawyer"
10. Vincent Hallinan	( ) "My Life in Court"
11. Bellamy Partridge	( ) "Story of My Life"
12. Aubrey Lee Brooks	( ) "Small Town D. A."
13. Chauncey M. Depew	( ) "Diary of a D. A."
14. Donald R. Richberg	( ) "A Lion in Court"
15. William J. Keating	( ) "Country Lawyer"
16. Joseph M. Proskauer	( ) "My Double Life"
17. Charles Francis Coe	( ) "Yankee Lawyer"
18. Michael A. Musmanno	( ) "City Lawyer"
19. Arthur Garfield Hays	( ) "My Hero"
20. Mrs. Kemper Campbell	( ) "Verdict!"

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tively to its pace. My reaction to *The Little Girls* may equally be my failure, and for this reason those who have liked (as I have) Miss Bowen's earlier work should try it for themselves.

And yet, sadly, I believe most readers will respond as I do, because the faults of this novel are too easily perceived. The little girls are not inescapably the women they become; the women themselves are not consistent. The frightened (but why?) Sheila we first meet in the tearoom of what seems to be but gratuitously is not Harrods is certainly not the honest woman to whom are given the two best passages of the book, the sad accounts of the failure of her career and of her first marriage. The comic servant is embarrassing, and the other minor characters flit pointlessly in and out, never achieving the significance that could justify their appearances. Some deep level of symbolic meaning seems intended but never penetrates, and at the important superficial level of storytelling this novel seems to me to fail almost entirely. It lacks even those extraordinary evocations of place that we have enjoyed as Miss Bowen's particular gift. Certainly the intermitted episode of the schoolgirls can stand alone as moderately pleasing, but how disappointing to be able to say no more of a new novel by Elizabeth Bowen.

SR's Check List of Current Books

Art

SPANISH PAINTING. By Gotthard Jedlicka. Viking. $12.50.

Current Affairs

AN EDUCATION IN GEORGIA: The Integration of Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes. By Calvin Trillin. Viking. $3.95.

INSURING FULL EMPLOYMENT: A United States Policy for Domestic Prosperity and World Development. By John H. G. Pierson. Viking. $6.

Economics

A HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT: A Book of Readings. Second edition. Edited by K. William Kapp and Lore L. Kapp. Barnes & Noble. $2.50.

Drama

BEST AMERICAN PLAYS: Fifth Series. Edited by John Gassner. Crown. $5.95.

THE TRIAL: A Dramatization Based on Kafka's Novel. By André Gide and Jean-Louis Barrault. Schocken. Hardbound, $3.50. Paperback, $1.45.

Fiction

THE CINCINNATI KID. By Richard Jessup. Little, Brown. $3.95.

A DANCE TO THE MUSIC OF TIME: Second Movement. By Anthony Powell. Little, Brown. $5.95.

A FOOL IN THE FOREST. By Basil Burwell. Macmillan. $5.95.

GOING TO TOWN AND OTHER STORIES. By Yuri Kazakov. Houghton Mifflin. $4.95.

THE PEREGRINE FALCON. By Robert Murphy. Houghton Mifflin. $4.

TOURIST ATTRACTION. By Patrick Skene Catling. Macmillan. $4.95.

History

BATTLES OF THE INDIAN MUTINY. By Michael Edwardes. Macmillan. $5.

THE REAL WAR: 1914-1918. By B. H. Liddell Hart. Atlantic-Little, Brown. $6.50. (Reissue.)

Literary Criticism

JOHN STEINBECK: An Introduction and Interpretation. By Joseph Fontenrose. Barnes & Noble. Hardbound, $2.95. Paperback, $1.25.

TO THE PALACE OF WISDOM: Studies in Order and Energy from Dryden to Blake. By Martin Price. Doubleday. $5.95.

Miscellany

THE FIRESIDE BOOK OF FAVORITE AMERICAN SONGS. By Margaret B. Boni and Norman Lloyd. Simon & Schuster. $6.

A FORTUNE IN THE JUNK PILE. By Dorothy H. Jenkins. Crown. $5.95.

MODERN PUBLICITY. Edited by Ella Moody. Viking. $12.

Personal History

ALL TO THE GOOD. By W. Lionel Fraser. Doubleday. $5.95.

Reference

THE SCHOEFFLER-WEIS COMPREHENSIVE GERMAN AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY. By Dr. Erwin Weis and Dr. Erich Weis. McKay. $9.95.

Religion

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY, Volume III. By Paul Tillich. Univ. of Chicago Press. $6.95.

WORSHIP AND ETHICS: A Study in Rabinic Judaism. By Max Kadushin. Northwestern Univ. Press. $8.50.

Science

AND THEN CAME MAN. By Hartmut Bastian. Viking. $6.95.

BIENNIAL REVIEW OF ANTHROPOLOGY, 1963. Edited by Bernard J. Siegel. Stanford Univ. Press. $7.50.

THE MAKING OF THE ELECTRICAL AGE. By Harold I. Sharlin. Abelard-Schuman. $5.95.

Sociology

CLASS, CITIZENSHIP, AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. By T. H. Marshall. Doubleday. $4.95.

COMPARATIVE LAW AND SOCIAL THEORY. By Jerome Hall. Louisiana State Univ. Press. $5.

Travel

THE DOLPHIN GUIDE TO ROME. By William Davenport. Doubleday. Paperback, $1.45. —Compiled by RUTH BROWN.

LITERARY I.Q. ANSWERS

Column Two should read: 15, 13, 20, 16, 9, 17, 5, 6, 12, 1, 7, 4, 8, 10, 11, 2, 3, 19, 14, 18.

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MUSIC TO MY EARS

Ariadne auf Varviso—Malagrida, Marino

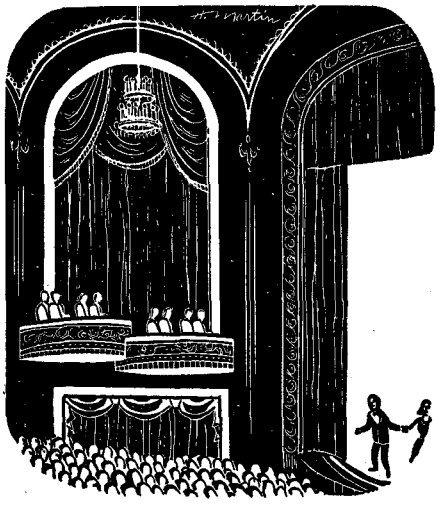
IT WAS the subject of a recent comment in this space that Mozart, as represented by *The Magic Flute,* was a composer beyond the ken of Silvio Varviso to interpret successfully in the Metropolitan Opera House. This week the list can be swelled to include Richard Strauss, as represented by *Ariadne auf Naxos*; next week it could also be Verdi, whose *Aïda* he is about to "take over," as the operatic expression has it, from Georg Solti. Thereafter, if all goes well, he may go back to conducting Donizetti's *Lucia* and Bellini's *La Sonnambula,* for which he has demonstrated some aptitude.

The question is not really whether the young Swiss-born conductor is the man New York operagoers have been awaiting to acquaint them with the finer points of Mozart, Strauss, or Verdi. It is, rather, who at the Metropolitan has decided that, in the absence of Lorin Maazel and Karl Böhm, Varviso is the man in whom to repose such confidence? Rudolf Bing may reply that Varviso carries the cachet of conducting of *Ariadne* at Glyndebourne; but the judgment and experience to enlarge the sound of Strauss's chamber orchestra to the dimensions required for the Metropolitan are but the first (and second) qualities which Varviso lacks for this demanding task. Animation, drive, vitality might be added to the list of citations without exhausting the errors of omission that can be even more deadly to the welfare of such a score than a few hearty sins of commission.

Ariadne is, after all, something less of a repertory piece than *Pagliacci.* It is the cunning contrivance of two master hands at the craft of musical theatre, taking delight in utilizing the skills they had developed in *Elektra* and *Der Rosenkavalier* to engage the interest of an audience on their own high level of taste rather than pandering to a commoner denominator of attention. For detail after detail of Strauss's subtlest invention to pass unremarked, or fail of audibility for want of proper emphasis, is to defeat Hofmannsthal's dramatic purpose as well.

Varviso's success in rendering *Ariadne* obnoxious was a double disservice to a cast that was, on the whole, more evenly suited to Strauss's requirements than any heard last year. It was an evening of solid accomplishment for Teresa Stratas, whose first effort as the Composer was both well sung and emotionally appealing. Miss Stratas is, of course, small enough to risk a career of typecasting as Papagena and Yniold, but she has a strikingly substantial voice and, what is more to the point, a decidedly determined artistic individuality. Together they almost gave the role a profile lacking in the pit; a few more performances and she may have the ease in the English text to make the words count for as much as the music.

There was improvement also in the change that produced Gladys Kuchta as Ariadne. For a while, in her Prologue part of the Prima Donna, there was some apprehension that Miss Kuchta might be imitating Leonie Rysanek imitating any unmentionable prima donna one might care to mention. But once into the serious challenge of Ariadne, Miss Kuchta sang strongly and artistically, with the kind of glint in the sound that distinguished her recent Donna Anna. A Brünnhilde or a Sieglinde for an auditorium of this size, Miss Kuchta is not; but she has both the musicianship and the stylistic sense to be a stalwart in matters she can meet on even terms. Roberta Peters made more of Zerbinetta's intricate showpiece than she, or any alternate, had last season, while treading lightly through the other requirements of the role; Sàndor Kònya was again a purposeful Bacchus; and Lorenzo Alvary mimed a likable Truffaldin (in place of Ezio Flagello) among the polished jesting of Theodor Uppman (Harlekin) and his fellow Maskers: Charles Anthony (Brighella) and Andrea Velis (Scaramuccio). But, as Ben Franklin said, "For want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe, the horse was lost. . . ." Here the nails were all those points not driven home by the one in whom leadership nominally reposed.



All sorts of unexpected things happened at the following evening's *Trovatore*: Robert Merrill sang di Luna leaning on a cane to rest an ailing knee, Rita Gorr appeared as Azucena for the first time in place of Irene Dalis, and Luisa Malagrida was a Leonora of close to competence in her debut. The last of these was perhaps the least expected, for Miss Malagrida's non-Italian reputation is nil. She is what might be described as a Tucker-sized soprano, which gives her very few inches to spare, but her routine is good and she has the traditions of the part under sure command. This included, unfortunately, a pair of hands flung heavenward at the end of "Per esso morirò," though this did much to persuade her audience that they were witnessing an Important Disclosure of Dramatic Art. Vocally Miss Malagrida is rather quavery in the middle and low register, but she has a secure top range that is sizable enough, too. Miss Gorr's Azucena began uncertainly but she earned her quota of applause by sheer will power.

Of the two youthful American conductors who enjoyed the privileges of the Philharmonic's podium in the pre-Christmas week, the more favorable impression was left, in this estimation, by Amerigo Marino. This was not necessarily because he has greater talent than Robert La Marchina, who directed the week's prior pair, but rather because his chosen program was within both his reach and his grasp.

It was Marino's preference to begin with the third of Rossini's "sonatas" for string quartet (with the double bass replacing the viola) and follow it with Hindemith's *Symphonia Serena* before sharing the stage with Tossy Spivakovsky in the Beethoven Violin Concerto. It was a pleasure to hear the lively inventions of the twelve-year-old Rossini played with so becoming a blend of texture and vivacity, and to observe Marino's skill in giving the Hindemith score a distinctive sound of its own. His background as an orchestral violinist (concertmaster of the Los Angeles Philharmonic) was readily apparent in the flow and integration of the orchestra's Beethoven with the soloist's.

La Marchina sought to impose a Toscanini-like impact on the Philharmonic's performance of the Berlioz *Corsair* and overplayed the piece as well as his hand. His musicality made more of a mark in the Franck Symphony. For this program Spivakovsky's solo work was the Concerto of Frank Martin, which deals eruditely with the "problem" of writing such

(*Continued on page* 71)

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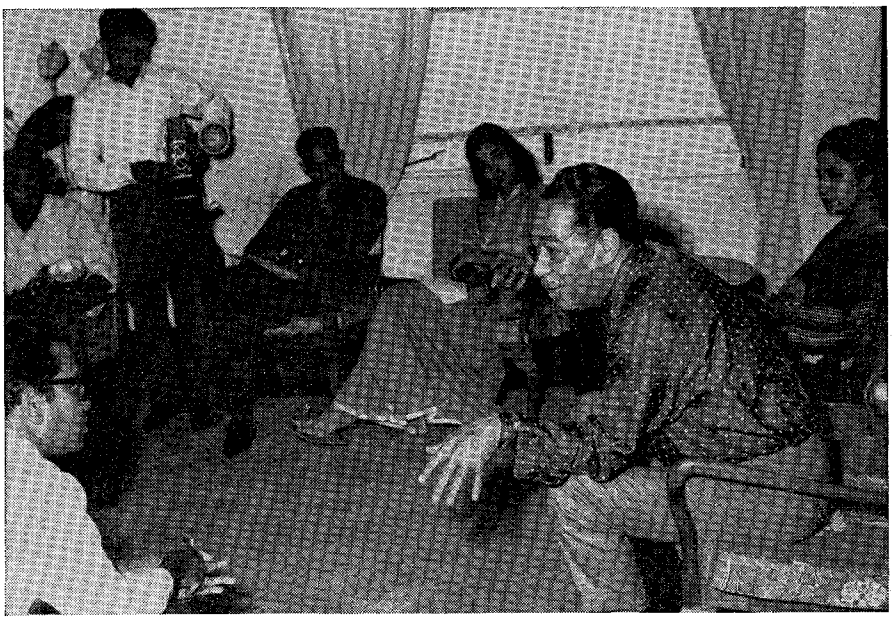
The Duke in India

Duke Ellington spent many weeks of the fall on a State Department-sponsored tour of India and nearby areas, returning immediately after the death of the late President John F. Kennedy because, as he said "We were in Ankara and everything in Turkey stopped cold at the news. All that was left for us to do was what we felt like doing. We packed up and came home." The following text is derived from a press conference at Calcutta in October, depicted below.



Duke Ellington discusses his craft—"I don't think audiences vary geographically."

Q. Is a thorough musical education a help or a hindrance in jazz?

A. There have been people who have come into jazz with no schooling and have become very famous, and there have been others with conservatory degrees who have also become famous and done brilliant things. I think it's a good thing, no matter what kind of music you're in, to get all the training possible. It's necessary for some people to go to school to study. Others have something to say musically but don't have time to go to school to find out whether they need to study. Perhaps they're already involved, doing it, and doing it very well. In their case, the limitations vary according to the personality. The whole thing is highly personal anyway. Years ago, back in 1914, the people who were then identified with jazz had had practically no training, but they did some very wonderful and very interesting things. I believe in the personalities very strongly, in the great personalities of jazz. But today, when you have people coming into it with tremendous academic background, I can't help feeling that the music has outgrown the word "jazz." It's necessary for some people to study, but others don't have to go to school to learn how to think. Beyond writing that is more or less elementary and that which is a little further advanced in harmonic devices and so forth, it's a matter of studying what someone else has done. If you have an inclination toward a new approach and you go to school, then in my opinion there's a risk of the original thought being modified by scholastic training, because then you're apt to apply the devices of someone in the past in order to express what you have to do. It's a matter, too, of suggestion. Sometimes people say, "You've got ability and you ought to go study." I don't know whether that's right or wrong. It depends upon who it is.

Q. Like Debussy, who learned all the rules before he started breaking them?

A. That's one way. And that's an instance of it turning out extremely well. Other people have attempted something like that and come out with a bad reflection because of . . . I don't want to say "taste" . . . because they've injected a certain amount of distortion which has made the result unattractive as compared with what it derived from.

Q. How have the audiences been in India as compared with those in other countries?

A. I don't think audiences vary geographically. I think audiences are the same everywhere. The audiences that come to see us want to hear us, so they don't expect anything but us, and they don't get anything but us. In Delhi, we went to the university campus and we had a lot of demonstrations of Indian instruments. We examined them quite thoroughly. We heard them played, and we sat around, and we tried them, but I'm afraid nothing happened. They're all very interesting and the great thing about them is the combinations, how they blend their tones together. The drums are wonderful in that respect, too—very unusual and very precise.

Q. Do you think Western drummers could adapt to that way of playing?

A. I suppose so. It would take quite a bit of drilling. There are a lot of quarter tones in it, and used in quite a different way. We deal in quarter tones, in what is known as "bending the notes," "cocked-valve" devices and slurs, but here you have it actually in the scale. In Delhi, we saw the dancers, too, and they put on a whole ballet for us, employing a large orchestra, which was wonderful, entirely different, very effective, and a great inspiration. Though I wouldn't want to take a part of it and use it, the over-all observation was wonderful. That is, to have absorbed the entire theme. Later on, something musical will come out of it, in its own form. After that experience, Billy Strayhorn said I had anticipated India in some music I did for a show in New York. It was something in the scale that resembled the Indian scales. I believe you can anticipate in that way. You may read a lot about or see pictures of a place you've never been, and you get a big, beautiful picture in your own mind. This picture is not necessarily authentic, but it's interesting just the same. In this case, I wouldn't like to be too authentic. I'd rather just reflect it in my own refractory personality.

Q. Do you favor jazz in the concert hall?

A. The concert hall is an auditorium where people go to listen to what they want to hear. Generally, a concert is understood to be a performance or recital of one character or by one unit. People who go to the concert hall go there to do nothing but listen. It gives them a listening isolation, whereas if you

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go to hear a band like ours in a dance hall, you end up doing a lot of things other people with social aspirations want to do. They want to dance and embrace the girls. In a nightclub, they're probably busy drinking and smoking. But in a concert hall they do nothing but listen, which is the purpose and virtue of it. In America, they have ev-everything in concert halls—you name it.

Q. Do you think the concert hall has a cold atmosphere for jazz?

A. I don't think atmosphere has much to do with it. The performer and the listener are what is important. The architecture means nothing. It's like a city. You come to the city and it's made of concrete and steel. If you don't meet any people, you don't meet anything. You might as well be in New York as in Paris as in . . . there's no personality. The people are what matter.

Q. Would it be more possible for Western musicians like Larry Adler, or a more rhythmic music like jazz, to blend with Indian music than with classical musicians and forms.

A. Larry Adler has a very flexible instrument. It's very close to the voice. In England, they had Menuhin play with Johnny Dankworth. I haven't yet heard what they did, but that was a long way for Menuhin, a concert man, to go. Dankworth is a highly skilled musician and very flexible, and he has dealt with a lot of different kinds of music. We've done things with the symphony and our major effort has been to make the symphony swing, which everybody says cannot be done, but I think we managed to do it very well. In fact, we have a record coming out soon by our band with ninety-two men of the Paris Opera orchestra, with eighty men of La Scala orchestra, Milan, with the Stockholm Symphony and with the Hamburg Symphony. And they're all on one record!

Q. Were these jam sessions or written works?

A. Oh, they were written. Some are pretty decent forms and others are [snapping his fingers] . . . you know!

Q. What are your impressions of Indian music?

A. As I said, it's wonderful and very interesting. Of course, I don't know what's going on! Now, I don't think music ever needs a name, a label, or a category, and I don't think a listener needs to know *what* he's listening to to enjoy it. I don't have to know anything about Indian music to enjoy it. I know a lot of people disagree with me on this point, but I don't have to know all the technicalities to enjoy a piece of music.

Q. What about notation?

A. If you have just three men, you can talk about what you want, but when you get three or four horns, or a ten-piece band, you have to go into arranging, because everyone cannot just get up and begin blowing without anything prearranged. Notation and arranging are quite different, however, because it isn't necessary to notate in order to arrange. Music can be orchestrated without being written. Notes can be given orally to the musicians. You say to one: "You play da-dada-da." To the next one, "Do-dodo-da." To another, "De-deda-da." Then altogether, "Ahrrrhmmmmm!" That's arranging. We used to do it that way, and the reason was because it was easier to memorize in the days when it was not considered good showmanship to be playing on the stage with music. Thirty years ago you never brought a music stand on stage.

Q. How have you managed to keep a big band so long when so many others have broken up?

A. It's a matter of whether you want to play music or make money, I guess. I like to keep a band so that I can write and hear the music next day. The only way to do that is to pay the band and keep it on tap fifty-two weeks a year. If you want to make a real profit, you go out for four months, lay off for four, and come back for another four. Of course, you can't hold a band together that way, and I like the cats we've got. So by various little twists and turns, we manage to stay in business and make a musical profit. And a musical profit can put you way ahead of a financial loss.

Q. Does the popularity of, say, rock-'n'-roll affect the mainstream of jazz?

A. Well, rock-'n'-roll has taken from jazz, from blues, from folk and almost everything. Rock-'n'-roll has no musical mark of identification. It's a brand name that has had a bigger promotion than anything else in the world, and anything they play under that label comes out rock-'n'-roll. You can play anything and call it rock-'n'-roll—a waltz, anything. It used to have two or three little devices that marked it, but nothing of much significance. But nobody really loses an audience. There's still a Dixieland audience, a swing audience, a bop audience, and the old business-man's-bounce audience.

Q. The folk singers seem to have taken up the civil rights problem. Have you referred to it in your music?

A. In quite a lot of things. I just did an entire show in Chicago called *My People*. It ran for three weeks. Its most significant social statement lay in the final song, "What Color Is Virtue, What Color Is Love?" There was another number called "King Fit the Battle of Alabam," and quite a bit of satire. We didn't really say anything ugly about anybody, but we did insinuate here and there.

Q. I remember reading that you were quite a gourmet.

A. I'm afraid I came here at the wrong time. I've been eating nothing but steak and grapefruit for seven years, so I've had to scuffle. I can't eat highly seasoned food, but I've managed very well, considering. Friends have been sending me steaks, and the steak I had at the hotel today was wonderful, the best I've had since leaving New York.

—Transcribed from a tape recording by Stanley Dance.

Ellington (in polka-dot shirt) and Indian musicians—"I don't have to know all the technicalities to enjoy a piece of music.

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RECORDINGS REPORTS: JAZZ LPs

TITLE, PERSONNEL, DATA	REPORT
George Braith: *Two Souls in One.* Braith, soprano saxophone and stritch; Billy Gardner, organ; Grante Green, guitar; Donald Bailey, drums. Blue Note 4148, $4.98; stereo 84148, $5.98.	George Braith plays soprano saxophone and stritch simultaneously through most of this album. Merely two horns do not make him a serious competitor for Roland Kirk, nor has he the latter's stamina and imagination, but he is probably representative of a trend yet to be endured. Often disturbingly astringent, in his blowing he is formidably complemented by what annotator Nat Hentoff rightly describes as the "calliope-sound" of organist Billy Gardner. This is fine for the iron-nerved; for others, Grante Green provides refreshing guitar interludes.
Ray Bryant: *Groove House.* Bryant, piano; Wally Richardson, guitar; Tommy Bryant, bass; Bobby Donaldson or Panama Francis, drums. Sue 1016, $4.98; stereo, $5.98.	A versatile, original, and immediately identifiable pianist, Ray Bryant is as rhythmically imperious as Earl Hines when he swings out on a blues like "Backroom." There is a similarity, too, in the plunging, sonorous bass notes, which lend such distinction to a well-constructed version of Richard Rodgers's "Sweetest Sounds." The program, which includes ballads, blues, and spirituals, is extremely varied, but on most numbers one is conscious of Bryant's natural blues roots, as opposed to the contrived, self-conscious kind so generally in evidence during recent years. The agreeable guitar solos by Wally Richardson indicate a talent deserving of more exposure.
Duke Ellington: *Piano in the Foreground.* Ellington, piano; Aaron Bell, bass; Sam Woodyard, drums. Columbia CL 2029, $3.98; stereo CS 8829, $4.98.	Like the Capitol set made a decade ago (T-477), this partly refutes the often-expressed opinion that Duke Ellington's instrument is the orchestra. He has *two* instruments, and the piano comes first, even if it is too rarely in the foreground (as here). Seven new originals, one from 1936, and three standards compose a program that ranges from the impressionistic "Fontainebleau Forest" to the definitive blues choruses of "So" via an electrically charged "Cong-go." The astonishing freshness, vitality, and variety of the music confirm the fact that Ellington, as a *pianist,* is creatively without peer in jazz today. His use of the entire keyboard, two hands, and dynamic contrasts is partly responsible for his transcending the normal confines of a "style." The imaginative bass accompaniment by Aaron Bell is an additional pleasure in this indispensable album.
Red Garland: *Can't See for Lookin'.* Garland, piano; Paul Chambers, bass; Art Taylor, drums. Prestige 7276, mono and stereo, $4.98.	Solo space for every man is the rule in so many of today's small groups that it has become an unmitigated bore. Each of the four long performances that make up this album, for instance, contains a bass solo and, unless you play the instrument, even so ingenious a bass solo as that Paul Chambers bows on "Soon" can be quite profoundly disruptive. Garland, in any case, seems fully capable of sustaining interest over the distance. Though his block-chording tends to be ponderous, his flowing single-note treble lines swing lightly and brightly.
Johnny Griffin: *Do Nothing 'Til You Hear from Me.* Griffin, tenor saxophone; Buddy Montgomery, piano and vibraphone; Monk Montgomery, bass: Art Taylor, drums. Riverside RM 462, $4.98; stereo RS 94627, $5.98.	Griffin's relaxed and reflective playing on the first side is a welcome surprise after the surfeit of frantic blowing to which his audience had previously been treated. There is, indeed, no further need for him to prove his ability in fast multi-noted exercises, and here maturing emotional expression represents a distinct artistic advance. Besides discreet but able accompaniment, the "miking" must be commended, for it avoids the fashionable hardening of tenor saxophone tone.
Coleman Hawkins: *The Essential Coleman Hawkins.* Hawkins, tenor saxophone, unaccompanied and with trio, quartet, and sextet. Verve V-8568, $4.98; stereo V-68568, $5.98.	Coleman Hawkins is one of the truly essential figures in jazz and he is well represented in this collection of eight performances, the earliest of which is that impressive achievement, the unaccompanied "Picasso" of 1947. The level of inspiration varies, but his big tone, power, and unfailing swing are always convincing. Like Louis Armstrong, he has the ability to draw the listener out of himself with sound alone, and he can still spring a surprise in yet another refashioned version of his greatest success, "Body and Soul." Among the pianists who accompany him are Oscar Peterson, John Lewis, and Al Haig, but it is Hank Jones, on "Sunday" and "Hanid," who clearly suits him best.
Hank Jones: *Here's Love.* Jones, piano; Kenny Burrell, guitar; Milt Hinton, bass; Elvin Jones, drums. Argo 728, mono and stereo, $4.98.	This quartet of top-notch professionals translates ten tunes from the Meredith Willson show into listenable jazz, which is no mean accomplishment. Hank Jones is technically one of the best-equipped pianists in the field, and his technique is always governed by impeccable taste. It is very rewarding to hear him with his younger brother, *l'enfant terrible* of modern jazz drumming. The context, admittedly, is not as adventurous as that of John Coltrane's group, in which Elvin is usually heard, but his deft brushwork makes a considerable contribution to the record's impact.
Stan Kenton: *Adventures in Blues.* Kenton, leader and pianist, with twenty-two-piece band. Capitol T-1985, $3.98; stereo ST 1985, $4.98.	Despite typical hyperbole to the effect that "the band's music must symbolize a civilization in motion, and help fulfil the creative challenges of the twentieth century," this is one of the most listenable albums Kenton has made. Much of the credit should go to arranger-composer Gene Roland, who is also the chief soloist (on soprano saxophone and mellophonium). The "adventures," however, embrace a curious conception of the blues, as the notes reveal: "There is no set formula in writing the blues for Stanley Kenton's band, other than to remember that there are 32 bars to a chorus." Roland, fortunately, complies with this only when it suits himself. The ensemble playing is admirable, the fifteen brass achieve many impressive effects, and among the noteworthy soloists are Marv Stamm (trumpet), Gabe Baltazar (alto saxophone), Bob Fitzpatrick, and Dee Barton (trombones). Most of the tempos are slow and the orchestra doesn't always swing, but this is perhaps in keeping with the present motion of civilization.
Gerard "Dave" Pochonet: *Swingin' in Paris.* Pochonet, drums, with quartet, quintet, and sextet. Taureau SW 3301, mono only, $3.98.	This interesting collection was recorded in Paris between 1958 and 1962 by various groups of competent French musicians under the leadership of Dave Pochonet, a drummer who has recently been active in this country. The audible influences are mainly those of the Swing Era—from Tricky Sam Nanton to Benny Goodman—and the performances are appropriately enthusiastic. Lucky Thompson and Martial Solal, both of whom play on "We'll Be Together Again" and "Pennies from Heaven," update the prevailing atmosphere by several years, while Michel Attenoux, in "Tin Roof Blues," plays soprano saxophone like a worthy disciple of the great Sidney Bechet.
Pony Poindexter: *Gumbo!* Poindexter, alto and soprano saxophones; Booker Ervin, tenor saxophone; Al Grey, trombone; Gildo Mahones, piano; George Tucker, bass; Jimmy Smith, drums. Prestige 16001, mono, $4.98.	Here are eight vignettes of New Orleans that retain an exciting and insidiously primitive quality despite the fact that they are viewed from the perspective of "modern" jazz. The "fish-horn" sound of Poindexter's soprano saxophone is certainly well suited to "Gumbo Filet" and the *outré* wares of "French Market." The musicians' imaginations seem to have been thoroughly captivated by the material, and the feeling of a real urge to play pervades the solos and the striking ensemble passages. The leader's memories of the Crescent City, as incorporated in Dan Morgenstern's notes, give added significance to his compositions. —STANLEY DANCE.

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Music, Metaphor, and Men

***"Blues People,"** by LeRoi Jones (William Morrow and Company. 244 pp. $5; traces the history of the American Negro as it is reflected in the music he has created.*

By JOE GOLDBERG

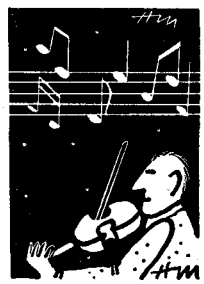
LEROI JONES'S *Blues People*, subtitled *Negro Music in White America*, is nominally a book about jazz, and the dust-jacket encomiums refer to it as such. Actually, *Blues People* is not that at all, but a book about the change through history of Negro attitudes and status in the United States, with Negro music seen as an index and metaphor of that change. "If Negro music," Jones writes, "can be seen to be the result of certain attitudes, certain specific ways of thinking about the world (and only ultimately about the *ways* in which music can be made), then the basic hypothesis of this book is understood. The Negro's music changed as he changed, reflecting shifting attitudes or (and this is equally important) *consistent attitudes within changed contexts*. And it is *why* the music has changed that seems most important to me."

A vast subject, on the face of it, but the underlying thesis is simply the one that, when voiced by the late Governor Earl Long, caused his constituents to fear he had gone insane: "You got to recognize that niggers is human beings!" Jones is singularly well equipped to advance his thesis in the way he has chosen: he is a Negro, a poet, and a jazz critic. He follows the bare outline of the "up the river from New Orleans" histories, but in every instance he has a rational sociological or economic reason for a change in musical style. We know where the Negro was, and what he was doing and thinking, when his music changed. There is insight and wit on nearly every page, and Jones has the rare faculty of making a point seem obvious after he has made it. But he has overcomplicated an already complex discussion by his own sense of revelation and his endless italicized modifications. These last are sometimes irritating and unnecessary; too often, we already *know* what he was *talking* about.

At times, it appears as though Jones had reasoned backwards, propping up an event with rationalization to make it fit his system, in the manner of amateur film criticism. The weakest part of the book is that which deals with straight music theory and formal jazz development. This is ironic, because Jones is doing what Norman Mailer calls "running for president": if white critics can be discounted because of their lack of understanding of the Negro, then we are left with LeRoi Jones. But he has relied heavily on white critics for his formal musical passages, and much of the early anthropological discussion is indebted, and credited, to Melville Herskovits's *The Myth of the Negro Past*. Since one can only quarrel in one's own area of knowledge, one wonders whether, despite the obvious scholarship, there are similar errors in the rest of the book. Some of these errors stem from what might be called Bohemian prejudice, others from a simple failure to hear. When he says, for instance, that "an alto saxophonist like Paul Desmond, who is white, produces a sound on his instrument that can be called legitimate, or classical, and the finest Negro alto saxophonist, Charlie Parker, produced a sound on the same instrument that was called by some 'raucous and uncultivated,'" he is getting at a difference important to his theme, but neglects to hear that Desmond's tone is as personal and radically different from the "classical" norm as was Parker's.

But such quarrels—and it is not the purpose of this review to replace Jones's subjective opinions with my own—are unimportant in the total context of a valuable first look from the other side at what is probably our most vital native cultural force. Jones provides, along the way, fascinating insights—whorehouse piano seen as worksong, why many young white intellectuals play Dixieland, the Negro community's feeling that there was a very good reason why The Bomb fell on Hiroshima and not Berlin. He traces the filtering of Negro slang into the language to the point where we get an insecticide anachronistically called Hep; he is probably vastly amused at a product marketed since his book was written, a men's hair tonic called Score. And we can be particularly grateful that Jones has expended so much space on contemporary musicians, who generally receive only a few pages in the last chapter of a survey. For these reasons, one misses certain topics that Jones would have been the best man of all to talk about, wonders at their omission, and hopes he discusses them in the future: Ray Charles's conversion of religious music into secular music; Billie Holiday's almost complete reliance on and alteration of the thirty-two-bar popular song; the European dilutions of John Lewis; the phenomenon of Charles Mingus; the "Dizzy for President" half-serious white-liberal movement.

But it is Jones's main nonmusical point that makes his book so important, and this is why you should read it



whether you are interested in jazz or not: "One of the most persistent traits of the Western white man has always been his fanatical and almost instinctive assumptions that his systems and ideas about the world are the most desirable, and further, that people who do not aspire to them, or at least think them admirable, are *savages* or *enemies*." James Baldwin has questioned this thesis before, but it needs questioning again. Because, as Jones makes clear on every page, and he might incur the wrath of parlor liberals of both races for doing so, there *is* a difference between the Negro and the white. After finishing his book one thinks, with great uneasiness, of the remark the Sacco-Vanzetti case inspired Dos Passos to make: "All right, we are two nations."

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KRUPA COLLECTED

FEW Americans who are about to leave their thirties or have entered their forties could avoid having some idea of who Gene Krupa is or what he does. In the period when Benny Goodman's popularization of "swing" music brought jazz the largest audience it had ever had, Krupa was the name second in everyone's enthusiasm; he was cheered by many, idolized by almost as many, and imitated by literally thousands of amateur drummers who hounded their parents for a drum set of their own. He has the claim to infame in jazz history that he established the long drum solo as standard practice and, along with Goodman, his name is still a symbol for jazz music among the unhip.

Krupa in the late Thirties—behind the showmanship, emotional honesty.

Krupa's popularity was readily understandable. As a player, his enthusiasm for his work, his fellow musicians, and his audience is immediately and infectiously communicated and entirely generous. It is also superbly self-effacing, for behind the sweaty, flashy showmanship, there is always emotional and personal honesty.

His heritage is authentic, consisting (I would say) of Baby Dodds, Zutty Singleton, and Chick Webb. Krupa also had a dedication to his craft that kept him practicing and constantly polishing and expanding his techniques.

However, at the same time that Gene Krupa was winning the popularity polls, Sidney Catlett, Jo Jones, Dave Tough, and Jimmy Crawford were also practicing jazz drummers, and the realization that this is so is apt to bring one up short and make one ask a few questions.

Much as one would not accuse Krupa of calculated grandstanding, one would not accuse him of subtlety. He knows when to switch from snare to cymbals and when to switch from sticks to brushes (play those figures with the trumpets; softer now, the pianist is soloing!) and yet his switches always seem mechanical and obvious, no matter how just. And he is sometimes loud, when drums, somewhat in the manner of proper Victorian children, are better sensed than heard. (His heavy-handed accents behind Goodman and Teddy Wilson on the Quartet's "The Man I Love" seem to me models of insensitivity to melody and mood.)

More crucial is his rhythm. Not to argue with his evenness or steadiness, but to say that Krupa is so often just an unmeasureable but detectable shade ahead of things, enough ahead to preclude that secret but mandatory jazz quality called swing. The effect is an edginess, a compulsion that may seem to an auditor rather like a percussive nervousness. It could not be unfair to compare Krupa to his fellow Chicagoans of a similar heritage, and in such a comparison both George Wettling and, certainly, Dave Tough come off as players with more swing than Krupa. Similarly Krupa's own stylistic successor, Buddy Rich, albeit a sometimes overbearing drummer, can swing.

Krupa was the first of many famous Goodman sidemen to leave him, having departed in 1938 to form his own band. It was actually the first of two Krupa bands; the second came in the postwar years 1945-49, and its arrangers and sidemen reflected the new jazz, then (alas!) being called "be-bop." Columbia has collected thirty-two titles by both these groups in a two-LP set, Drummin' Man (C2L 29). On its heels appears *The Essential Gene Krupa* (Verve V/V6 8571), a single LP of studio re-creations of the old band and various "all-star" alliances of Krupa with Teddy Wilson, Lionel Hampton, Charlie Ventura, and others, including Rich on one number.

One is struck, in the Columbia set, by Krupa's alertness to the more musical aspects of the jazz being played during any period. We begin with his theme, "Apurksody," which is an attempt at an Ellington pastiche. And we end with "Lemon Drop," a very good Charlie Parker-inspired melody. In between we hear, for example, Chappie Willett's "Rhythm Jam" out of Don Redman-Fletcher Henderson, and Gerry Mulligan's "Disc Jockey Jump" and Eddie Finkle's "Calling Dr. Gillespie," both out of Parker-Gillespie. Yet so much of this music is delivered on the level of "novelty tunes," and this is not a question of the selections included in the Columbia set, for one would have only a few quibbles over what is left out from the complete Krupa discography. What we have is what we must have: the inane lyrics on "(He's That) Drummin' Man," "Drum Boogie," "Bolero at the Savoy," "Gene's Boogie." Even "Lemon Drop" is done as a scatbop vocal, one of many in the set. (But the first scat vocal is a good one, a bit of gleeful nonsense from Leo Watson, called "Tutti Frutti.") And, among other things, there are the current hits and would-be hits of yesteryear like "Massachusetts" and "Skylark."

I seem to be saying that what we have here is largely a collection of period pieces 1938-1949, nostalgic perhaps and not yet old enough to be quaint. Largely, yes, but not entirely.

Searing above the opening measures of "Bolero at the Savoy" is the trumpet of Roy Eldridge, and there is nothing nostalgic or quaint about its kind of personal vitality. Eldridge was a member of Krupa's orchestra during his peak years, and he was, surely, the most individually developed bravura jazz trumpeter between Louis Armstrong and Dizzy Gillespie. Many of his performances here are also among the novelties and hits: besides the "Bolero," he plays on "Massachusetts," "Skylark," and his own largely vocal piece "Knock Me a Kiss." Still, "Let Me Off Uptown" (which became a hit for Krupa, O'Day, and Eldridge) does have a fine, shouting trumpet chorus—full of oh-how-imitated ideas, one realizes on hearing it again. Then there are his two instrumental showpieces, "Rockin' Chair" and "After You've Gone." Surely between Armstrong's 1933 "I Got a Right to Sing the Blues" and Dizzy Gillespie's 1944 "I Can't Get Started," there is hardly a ballad by any jazz trumpeter but Eldridge's "Rockin' Chair." And surely there are no trumpeter's fast virtuoso pieces between Armstrong's "Ding Dong Daddy" and Gillespie's "Dizzy Atmosphere" like Eldridge's "After You've Gone." And just as surely, Gillespie did not "supplant" Eldridge—any more than Eldridge supplanted Armstrong.

I will not insult Roy Eldridge by saying that his presence alone makes the whole Columbia set worth its price. I don't know what excellence costs. I will say that he is one of those players whose work affirms jazz as a player's art, and whose recordings also show that what is invented on the spur of the moment can also span the years.

—MARTIN WILLIAMS.

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Music to My Ears

Continued from page 65

a work—as the composer phrased it—but less than spontaneously with the real problem of communication. Spivakovsky's angular style was more suitable to it than to the Beethoven, which was overtly violinistic rather than intrinsically musical. —IRVING KOLODIN.

Four *Messiahs*

THANKS to Thomas Dunn and the Festival Chorus and Orchestra, New Yorkers no longer have to speculate on whether Handel's *Messiah* is really a baroque oratorio or just a bit of romanticism that happened to have been written before its time. In four pre-Christmas performances in as many days, Dunn stripped the work of most of the questionable traditions that over the years have grown on it like barnacles. He not only returned to a small chorus and orchestra, but also paid attention to such neglected, often haphazard matters as ornamentation, cadenzas, rhythmic alteration, and continuo improvisation. Most important, he never confused scholarship with pedantry, or allowed undue reverence to get in the way of spirited music-making.

The *raison d'être* for the *Messiah* marathon lay in Dunn's decision to present the oratorio in four different historical versions, following the "editions" Handel led, respectively, at Dublin in 1742, at the King's Theatre, London, in 1745, at Covent Garden in 1750, and at the London Foundling Hospital in 1754. This provided an opportunity to observe the evolution of the work in its own day, and to contrast the "originals" with the bastardized versions popular now.

Handel himself altered *Messiah* practically every time he performed it, in order to suit both the forces at his disposal and his changing views. Pieces were shortened and simplified if one year's singer happened to be less virtuosic than his predecessor, additional music was composed and whole passages omitted if this was deemed appropriate, and arias were often shifted from one voice to another.

Mr. Dunn's four performances reflected the musical vicissitudes faithfully. It would be difficult to choose a definitive or favorite version—not even Handel did that. Also, Dunn could not alter the score to suit *his* available personnel. The most effective performances, therefore, were those that made the greatest demands on Dunn's best soloists. Charles Bressler may not have the most attractive tenor voice in the business, but he has few peers when it comes to executing ornate coloratura lines with accuracy and ease. Basso Donald Gramm is a less elegant singer, but his authority and control were always striking. John Ferrante, who appeared whenever a countertenor was needed, offered more authentic sound than pleasurable sound. This also held true for Kevin Kelly, the boy soprano in the Covent Garden version. The female soloists, Sara Endich, Beverly Wolff, and, in two versions, Yvonne Cianella, suffered from various degrees of vocal insecurity, but were never less than competent.

The biggest revelation involved the variety and transparency of textures found in *Messiah* when it was done by small forces. The twenty-voice chorus handled contrapuntal passages (in "For unto us a child is born," for instance) with extraordinary clarity and vitality, something more grandiose ensembles cannot hope to do. One hopes that future "restored" *Messiahs* will also be restored to appropriately small auditoriums (Carnegie and Philharmonic Hall served this time), but, in view of the generally encouraging audience response, this might be financially unrealistic. —MARTIN BERNHEIMER.

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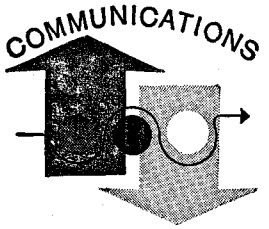

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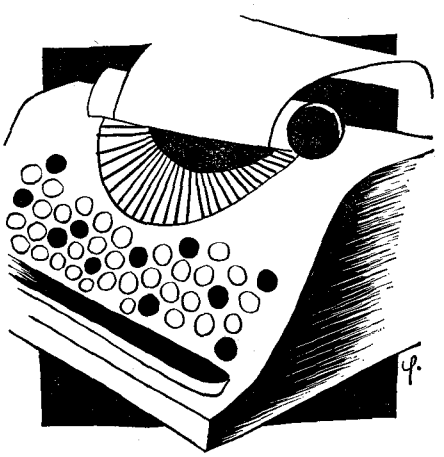

Experiment in Common Sense

MACALESTER COLLEGE, a small but lively coeducational institution in St. Paul, Minnesota, has a noble tradition of internationalism rare in the Middle West. Three years ago a project known as the World Press Institute began to operate on the Macalester campus and it has by now become, through a remarkable year-long program of activities involving young foreign journalists brought to this country, one of the most valuable and viable contributions to the improvement of international relations. This year, fifteen young foreign newsmen are living in the United States as guests of the World Press Institute, their headquarters at Macalester but their vista the whole of the United States. As Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, says about the project, "There is no substitute for the firsthand observations of able foreign journalists who come to this country. If something like this had been done years ago, history might have taken an extremely different direction."

In this year's class are newsmen from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, India, Northern Ireland, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Scotland, Thailand, and Turkey. Upon arrival in the United States last August, these fifteen spent ten days in New York, then made an 8,000-mile tour through the eastern half of the country before getting down to five months of academic work at Macalester. Starting in February, each journalist will participate in a three-month working internship with some American newspaper, magazine, or broadcasting station. Each foreign newsman is assigned to a different community in a different state. All will eventually come back to St. Paul, where the earlier courses in U.S. history, politics, economics, and social problems studied for five months academically will have had pragmatic test in the field. Then, next summer, the fifteen foreign journalists will take off for an extended tour of the entire country, ending up in New York at the end of what will have been an amazing year for them and their American hosts.

A visit to Macalester's unique World Press Institute is a challenging personal and professional experience, since nothing is taken for granted or at face value by these young foreign newsmen. They continually ask the embarrassing question "Why?" and their persistent theme is Robert Burns's "man's inhumanity to man." In the context of such current issues as civil rights, world hungers, freedom, and illiteracy, a guest can find himself quickly in a self-examining mood. There are no ready answers, of course, as the foreign journalists quickly discover as they study in St. Paul or work on U.S. newspapers and magazines and broadcasting stations. As they see the United States at the whistle stop, the foreign newsmen gradually change their view of the average American as an isolationist and provincial. And, by the time they are back on their own publications, they are far better qualified to judge the oversimplified nonsense that comes in about America over their home news tickers. As one journalist recently wrote his home paper, "I'm appalled at the absurdities I con-

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sidered typical of America and its people before I came."

The cost of this unique program, which has brought to the United States thirty-nine outstanding journalists from twenty-four countries in three years, is underwritten chiefly by such foresighted corporations as American Motors, General Mills, Hammond Organ, Hilton Hotels, IBM, National Cash Register, Pan American World Airways, RCA, Reader's Digest Foundation, Signode Steel Strapping, Standard Oil (New Jersey), the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, and Whitney Communications. Macalester College itself covers

a considerable chunk of the expense for what is already a world-famous press experiment; a recent gift to Macalester of $10,000,000 in matching money from *Reader's Digest* editor DeWitt Wallace, whose father was president of Macalester when Mr. Wallace was a boy, has given the college and the World Press Institute a perceptible lift.

The theory of sending a writing man or a scholar away for a year to broaden his outlook is by no means new. It used to be done in the best families here and abroad, and such scholarships as the Fulbright, Nieman, Rhodes, and Pulitzer traveling stipends have paid off handsomely in a shrunken world where ignorance of others is patent suicide. No one can spend time at the Macalester experiment and not feel rewarded and encouraged. It isn't Pollyanna optimism or naïve faith in an idealistic approach that persuades you at Macalester's World Press Institute. It is realism in its most pragmatic form, a practical translation of Robert Burns at what was once a Scotch Presbyterian college which even now proudly wears the tartan.

—R.L.T.

Letters to the Communications Editor

The *Times* on Dallas

SPEAKING OF "atrocious editing" [*SR*, Dec. 14], *SR* seems to be mighty quick on the trigger when it takes aim at the *New York Times*.

You express indignation that on November 25 we referred to Lee Harvey Oswald as "President Kennedy's assassin." You say we had no right to do that because Oswald had not been indicted and convicted.

We agree. Our managing editor, Turner Catledge, acknowledged the error in a letter published on our editorial page on November 27 [see below]. If you had applied the standards of journalistic fair play that you so strongly commend to us and had given us an opportunity to comment, we would have told you about the letter.

We also would have told you that Gladwin Hill, writing from Dallas, did not call Oswald the assassin. He used the word "alleged," which was mistakenly cut out in New York.

Some of our readers, however, do not think that "alleged" is necessary. One of them, Norman William Smith, Jr., of Lebanon, Pennsylvania, says we fail "to distinguish between guilt as a matter of law and guilt as a matter of fact." When the accused has died without being tried, Mr. Smith suggests, the element of punishment disappears, and we should not be deterred from a conclusion of guilt if the evidence warrants it.

Emanuel M. Snyder of the Bronx points out that John Wilkes Booth was never tried, but we do not hesitate to say he was Lincoln's assassin.

CLIFTON DANIEL,
Assistant Managing Editor,
New York Times.

New York, N.Y.

Until Proved Guilty

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The New York Times erred, in news reports published on Monday, in referring to Lee Harvey Oswald as "President Kennedy's Assassin." Although Oswald was accused of the assassination and the Dallas police thought they had an air-tight case against him, he was never tried and convicted. Under the American system of justice, he is innocent until proved guilty. Future articles and headlines will reflect that fact.

TURNER CATLEDGE,
Managing Editor, The New York Times.
New York, Nov. 26, 1963.

YOUR EDITORIAL in the December 14 issue expresses deep concern that the *New York Times* should publish a simple statement of the truth, which was that Lee Harvey Oswald assassinated President Kennedy. There were several instances of news errors during and shortly after that horrible weekend that would seem to be much more worthy of your concern, unless, of course, you choose to ignore them. The first, and most "atrocious," to use your own word, was the broadcast by the Voice of America to Europe and the Iron Curtain countries to the effect that the President had been murdered by right-wing radicals in that hotbed of right-wing radicalism, Dallas.

I wonder if we will ever know who was really responsible for this outrageous and probably intentional lie. The damage can never, never be completely undone. The Russians, as might be expected, made the most of it. Following the Oswald murder, I witnessed presentations by both CBS and NBC-TV (we can't get ABC) which purported to present the life of Lee Oswald. Interestingly enough, both of these network programs completely omitted any reference to the facts that Oswald was a Communist sympathizer, had spent two and a half years in Russia, and had tried to renounce his American citizenship. The fact that Oswald had an undesirable discharge from the Marines because of his defection to Russia was also completely ignored. The fact that he was an aggressive Castro supporter was touched very lightly in one broadcast and only briefly mentioned in another. All of these facts had been published in the newspapers within a very few hours after he assassinated the President.

Why do so many people seem so anxious to cover up or even deny the fact that an avowed Communist sympathizer and *left-wing* radical murdered the President? One gets the impression that there are those who would have felt much better about the whole thing had the murderer been a right-wing radical and a citizen of Dallas.

I would like to see in print some of your comments concerning the errors of commission and omission that I have mentioned. There were many more subtle ones.

HOWARD L. SMITH, M.D.

Marlin, Tex.

Negroes on Television

EMMET L. Davenport's letter from Sylacauga, Alabama [*SR*, Dec. 14] calls the increasing use of Negro performers in television "a joke." He complains that almost every show on television, even including Shakespeare, makes a point of casting Negroes, although he professes no objection "if their presence is authentic."

Perhaps that is the crux of the problem.

(*Continued on page 84*)

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—*Wide World*

Iowa farmer Roswell Garst hurls silage at newsmen during 1959 visit of Premier Khrushchev (right foreground).

When the Press Shapes the News

By HERBERT BRUCKER, *editor of the Hartford (Connecticut) Courant and president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.*

WHAT MADE the assassination of President Kennedy a nightmare was its frustrating witlessness. There was also the indictment of our society inherent in the fact that the tragedy took place at all. Two days later that indictment was made the more savage when the presumed murderer was himself murdered while in care of the police. Then came the final horror: it had been pressure from the press, serving the supposed needs of the public, that had set the stage for this final lawless degradation in the very citadel of the law's authority.

It will be a long time before the full story of what happened in Dallas is told. But there seems little doubt that TV and the press must bear a share of the blame. Certainly the American Civil Liberties Union has no hesitation in pointing its finger:

"In our view, Oswald's killing is directly related to the police capitulation to the glare of publicity. Having surrendered to the public clamor during the preceding two days, the police arranged Oswald's transfer from the city to the county jail to suit the convenience of the news media and thereby exposed Oswald to the very danger that took his life. Minimum security considerations would dictate that the transfer of this prisoner at least ought not, in effect, have taken on the quality of the theatrical production for the benefit of the television cameras."

The ACLU is not alone. The *New York Times* commented: "The Dallas authorities, abetted and encouraged by the newspaper, TV, and radio press, trampled on every principle of justice in their handling of Lee H. Oswald." The Dallas *Times Herald* added that Chief Curry of the Dallas police, "a good chief . . . a dedicated, able career man," had made possible this betrayal of justice because "he was attempting to accommodate the press in announcing the time of Oswald's transfer."

There is something here that is deeply disturbing. What has given the press such power, and what can be done about it?

THE impact of the press upon events did not begin in Dallas on November 22. There has long been a clash between newspapers and lawyers over what the lawyers denounce as trial by newspaper and over having cameras in court. On one side stands that foundation stone of democracy, the public's full and free knowledge of what is being done in its name. On the other stands the demand of civilization that anyone accused of crime be treated with scrupulous fairness, especially if the crime has aroused the emotions of the community.

If the conflict between these two rights has long been an irritant, what lies ahead in the coming days of mass

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coverage? There must be some way of making certain that what happened in that Dallas basement passageway will never happen again. We must indeed find ways of making certain that in no other way, either, will those who watch events in the name of the public interfere with justice or the public order.

The trial of Jack Ruby, Lee Oswald's killer in that most public of murders, is to open February 3. At this writing the decision is that there will be no television while the court is in session. Texas has no fixed rule against broadcasting and photography in court. Each judge has power to decide. District Judge Joe Brown, who is to preside at the Ruby trial, ruled after consultation with newspaper representatives that TV, radio, and still photography would be prohibited. But the issue of a horde of pad-and-pencil reporters remains. There are only sixty-two seats in the designated courtroom, with perhaps twenty-two or twenty-three reserved for reporters. But at this writing 225 requests for press credentials have already been received.

The beginning of cure lies in identifying cause. I submit that today's conflict between press and courts grows principally out of something new in journalism. This is the intrusion of the reporter himself into the news.

From the scribblers of two and three centuries ago to the formidable technical crews of today's electronic journalism the role of the reporter has been, and in theory still is, that of observer. He should not get into his own story, still less get in front of his own camera. Newspapermen of course rarely do that kind of thing. Indeed, they bridle at any suggestion that printed journalism and television have anything in common. Yet I think we can see things most clearly if we accept the essential accuracy of the public's assumption that "the press" is one. And for convenience's sake, let us stay with those simple words: the press. Their meaning is clear enough—more clear perhaps than if we say the mass media, or resort to that academic mouthful, the media of mass communication.

TO be sure, laymen oversimplify when they lump printed journalism, with its three and a half centuries of experience and discipline, together with those brash newcomers, radio and television. Besides, broadcasting differs from newspapers by nature. It is first of all show business. Nevertheless, upon occasion it is journalism, too. And when it is, it has within it power to report superbly. Television may be hucksterism and claptrap 90 per cent of the time. But it can also become the ultimate ideal of journalism, because at its best it does not have to report distant events. It can transport the citizen to the action itself, as it happens.

This is what TV did, for the better part of four days, after the Kennedy assassination. So, even though those of us on newspapers resent being identified with broadcast journalism, let it pass. There isn't much we can do about it anyway. During the emotional crisis of that black weekend I was told angrily, "You're all of you exactly the same, and all to blame."

The intrusion of the press into the events it reports did not begin just now. The incidents following the murder of the President were merely the most recent, and most spectacular, of a long line of essentially similar occurrences. Remember, for example, the mob scene that took place in September 1959, when Premier Khrushchev toured this country.

There occurred at that time what came to be known as the Battle of Coon Rapids. The reason for this near-riot on the Garst farm in Iowa was the unnecessary and overwhelming number of television, radio, photographic, and word reporters that were on hand. Contemporary accounts have it that on the tour CBS alone used sixty-five cameras and 375 cameramen and technicians, besides the ten top reporters and commentators who traveled with the visiting Soviet Premier.

None of the Khrushchev tour had really been orderly. But out on the Roswell Garst farm photographers roosted in trees, in barn lofts, in upstairs windows, in haystacks. "You couldn't get a coherent quote," said John Crosby, New York *Herald Tribune* TV columnist. "You tried to ask a question but were pushed out of the way before you could finish." No wonder an irate Mr. Garst began hurling silage at the reportorial disarray following the party around. No wonder he delivered some well-placed kicks into sensitive parts of the anatomy of (regrettably) not the principal offenders, but of some of the seasoned and responsible reporters.

James Reston of the *New York Times*, a participant in the Battle of Coon Rapids, wrote at the time: "We didn't cover the Khrushchev story, we smothered it. We created the atmosphere of hysteria. We were not the observers of history, we were the creators of history."

Another of those on hand was Alexander F. Jones, editor of the Syracuse *Herald Journal*. He put it bluntly:

"Before the trip was over I was ducking my press badge. I did not want people to know I was one of the mob of human locusts which acted like a bunch of reform-school characters suddenly released.

"These big stories are becoming nightmares. With the advent of television, involving all of the equipment it does, and the Capone gangster manners of many of the cameramen, the free press apparatus has grown to the point where it is impossible for anyone to think. . . .

"I have always been proud of being a newspaperman, but on my return from this trip I felt that anything that happens to us in putting us where we belong from the standpoint of our manners and deportment is deserved."

We see other versions of the same disorder elsewhere. One is the Presidential news conference. Since broadcasting came in, dragging its paraphernalia, these conferences have changed from intimate interchanges into spectacles. As staged now for the television cameras, these vast and bustling affairs are entertainment, given an extra fillip by the fact that the leading actor is the President of the United States. As for the newspaper reporters, they have become not so much representatives of a questioning public as actors in a government vaudeville.

THE principal devil is broadcasting. This is especially so since television linked radio's microphone with motion pictures of old newsreels. The newsreels, always on the raffish side as reporters, at least let the audience gawk at whatever gee-whiz climaxes were shown in the guise of news. Nowadays the television reporter actually stands in the picture, side-by-side with the person being interviewed, chucking him under the chin with extended microphone. Sometimes indeed it becomes one more mob scene, with half a dozen rival microphones thrust into the teeth of the arriving statesman or numbed victim of disaster.

So far have things gone that recently a New York newspaper reporter, who has spent a good deal of his time covering the airports, complained that he and his kind are now often pushed aside by Secret Service men and others when the great arrive at Idlewild, while the broadcasters with their microphones and cameras are permitted at the ramp. He wrote in the trade magazine *Editor & Publisher*:

"The old traditions which sought to keep press interviews of all types within bounds and on a dignified and professional basis began to go out of the window.

"There was the microphone squad rush and the blunt, cross-examining technique:

" 'Are you going to run for re-election?'

" 'Are you sorry you killed your wife?'

" 'How do you feel, now that you are free after thirty-five years' imprisonment?'

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"No follow-ups. Just questions—pointed, helter-skelter, on the run.

"The writing press stood by and, instead of doing the interviews, began to cover the interview riots."

Actually, the intrusion of the reporter into the news goes back at least as far as the 1937 trial of Bruno Richard Hauptmann for the kidnap-murder of the Lindbergh baby. The new medium of radio, together with news photographers' flash bulbs, made a circus of the trial. So shocking was the exhibition that the American Bar Association adopted Canon 35, which to this day banishes camera and microphone from most of our courts.

WHAT this means is that bar and bench would like best to go back to the good old days when there were newspaper reporters, and that was that. Sometimes, indeed, even newspapermen have the same nostalgic wish, when it comes to court trials. One press-association executive, alarmed as were most of us at the prospect that the Ruby trial might become a television spectacular, had a simple cure. It was exactly the one Judge Brown eventually settled for, except that it made the concession (advantageous to newspaper clients) of admitting still photographers:

"The microphone and the television camera in open court are intrusions that no judge or defendant should have to put up with. There is enough ham acting by prosecutors, defense lawyers, and even judges without this further invitation. Reporters bearing pads and pencils, photographers carrying candid cameras are enough. They give the public the news the public is entitled to."

Pleasantly neat though such a cure might be, permanent resolution of the modern difficulty is not that simple. We cannot put the electronic genii back in the bottle. Despite the fact that TV's newsmen are often offensive in the way they elbow their way into the presence of the great to ask inane questions, the public likes what it sees on TV. And when it cannot have access to TV it will take radio, with its equally instantaneous immediacy. Fortunately, it also likes newspapers and must continue to like them, because their daily record that does not vanish in a moment, their skilfully ordered accounts of swift and tangled events, cannot be matched by any other medium. But the point is that electronic journalism is here to stay. Our society, courts and all, must learn to live with it.

Nor are the newspapers entirely without blame, if only because they, too, contribute to the complexities brought on by sheer numbers. As our society becomes more affluent, more newspapers than ever before send more reporters to the scene of spectacular action. Nowadays, too, a troupe of foreign reporters is likely to join the native pack. We have come far from the day when a handful of foreign correspondents maintained diplomatic residence in Washington and covered the country by reading the papers.

—Dallas Morning News

Jack Ruby and Lee Oswald—Needed: a rule of reason.

No, those who seek the simple, pass-a-law way out by prohibiting radio and TV have not, I submit, thought this issue through to its ultimate consequences. When radio and TV cover the news, their techniques and perhaps their manners may be different from those of newspapermen. But to exclude them from the courts or from any other public event strikes only at the symptoms, leaving the disease untouched. For it is not TV or even the press as a whole that is at fault. The tragic chain of events in Dallas may have set the stage for a murder in outrageous violation of public order. Yet the same events led also to what is by common consent television's finest hour. Broadcasting resembles the little girl in the nursery rhyme. When it is bad it is horrid, but when it is good it is very, very good.

If ever we had proof of that, it was in the miraculous transformation that came over broadcasting with President Kennedy's death. The nauseating, Chinese water-torture of the commercials ceased for four days. The sleazy, lowest-common-denominator programing vanished. Everything centered on the national tragedy, portrayed moment by moment as it was played out to the end. *Broadcasting* magazine estimated the total loss to the broadcasters at $32,000,000, while *Variety* went further with a guess of $40,000,000. Whatever the cost, it was worth it in terms of showing what TV could be.

To be sure, there were awkward and even distressing moments. There were vapid sidewalk interviews with people on the Dallas streets—supposedly a reaction to the shock of the news. Once, distraught and bewildered Mrs. Tippit, widow of the slain Dallas policeman, and her children were exhibited like zoo specimens to the nation. But the overwhelming presentation of the whole four days, notably the procession from the White House to the Capitol, and the long pageant of the funeral and burial services, was deeply moving. Restraint, dignity, and taste controlled the screen.

This has its bearing on our difficulty. Consider, for example, that during the requiem mass in the cathedral the whole nation could see everything that happened. Yet the cameras and microphones took away not one bit from the solemnity and religious significance of it all. It is, in short, possible to take cameras and microphones everywhere and anywhere, to report the great moments of history, and yet not to intrude in any way, let alone distort what takes place. What, then, is it that causes TV—the press—to get out of hand?

It is, I think, the instinctive response of a free press, as now unlimited in numbers and mobility, to a noteworthy event. The layman's answer is equally instinctive. These nosy reporters and photographers, he says with heat, must be put in their places. So pass a law.

The trouble is that such a law would violate the First Amendment. And no matter how tired we are of hearing the platitude, it is still true that once you limit freedom of the press, other limitations on freedom are not far behind.

Freedom and public order are usually at war, anyway. Success lies in a working balance. But the increasing weight and ubiquity of today's mechanics of reporting make the irritation more painful. We of the press will have to find at least a rule-of-thumb answer. So great is the public hostility becoming that if we don't find a way, it will be found for us.

THE usual solution in tight spots, when there is not room enough for an army of reporters, is the pool. This means choosing a number of reporters according to the circumstances and the facilities, and letting them cover for all and share their eyewitness reports with all. Yet newspapermen instinctively and properly resent pooling. Often—say, when it is a question of getting a handful of reporters on a carrier recovering an astronaut—lots are drawn. But this has unfair results. It might mean that a representative of the Bingville *Bugle* or station BLAH gets a front-row seat at history while the hard-working, disciplined, and experienced representatives of great newspapers, and even of the

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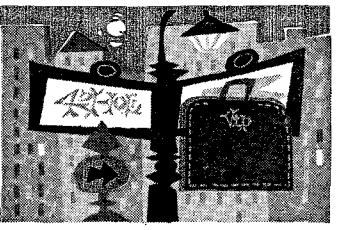
Madison Avenue



No Laughing Matter

MADISON AVENUE is a domain that is characterized by abundance. There is an abundance of money, talent, and initiative. Perhaps the only thing in critically short supply is humor.

The shortage of humor is all too evident in the product Madison Avenue shows the world. Sales messages involving such prosaic items as deodorants or detergents are intoned with an almost spiritual solemnity. The more preposterous the exaggeration ("Everyone's talking about the new Starfire. . . .") the more matter-of-fact the delivery.

"So many advertisers are so long-faced in deliverance of their 'message' that it is totally ingratiating when one of them admits his product is not a thing divine," notes Don Herold, a veteran copy writer.

On those rare occasions when ad men let their hair down the results can be, as Herold says, "ingratiating." Some of Stan Freberg's zany TV spots for Chun King chow mein are the epitome of soft-sell hilarity. So are the cheerful little Gravy Train commercials with their chattering chicks and great dane; or the wry Volkswagen ads with their shrewdly candid headlines; or the boisterous nonsense of Bert and Harry Piel, the two cartoon characters who appear in Piel's beer commercials.

Ads can be fun, but they aren't very often. Too many commercials are not only leaden—they're utterly square.

Perhaps the slice-of-life school of commercials represents the worst offender: the oafish washer repair man sermonizing endlessly about his favorite low-sudsing detergent; the high school girl squealing delight over her new antiperspirant discovery; the middle-aged suburbanite begging his garrulous hostess for her newest Accent recipe.

It's all terribly serious, and utterly self-defeating. For the ad men, in their total determination to avoid such contaminants as wit, drive themselves to ludicrous extremes of hyperbole. A survey taken by *The New Yorker*, a magazine that contains an unusually superior brand of advertising, found recently that, in one six-month period, its ads contained 312 "finests," 281 "world's bests," and 58 "America's onlys."

The ad men, writes anthropologist Jules Henry, apparently have become self-hypnotized with their own "parapoetic hyperbole."

Why is humor such an anathema in the ad game?

One key reason is that all too many copy writers adhere to the salesman's dictum that humor simply distracts the consumer and dilutes the sales pitch. "Good copywriters have always resisted the temptation to entertain," says David Ogilvy, a skilful copywriter who, though thoroughly entertaining in private conversation, is steadfastly sullen in his copy.

The theory that humor merely distracts the reader runs contrary to all literary experience, of course. Satirists from Molière to Mencken have found that wit sharpens their thrusts rather than blunts them. Nonetheless, wit remains a banned weapon in the ad man's bland armamentarium.

Aside from the Ogilvy dictum, perhaps the single most important reason for the humorlessness of Madison Avenue is simply that the business world in general takes itself pretty seriously.

"You can prepare a terribly funny campaign and giggle all the way to the client's office," notes the president of one middle-sized agency. "But when you have to enter that stuffy conference room and display your small jests in front of a circle of jowly, scowly organization men the humor suddenly seems pretty thin."

The oppressive solemnity of the business world is vividly reflected in the manners and mores of many companies. At Campbell Soup, for example, employees for years were instructed to capitalize the words Tomato Soup in deference to the handsome profits this product earned for the company.

AT one vast steel company, an engineer got severely reprimanded not long ago for having an aluminum paper weight on his desk. Aluminum, his superiors told him, was a competitive material that did not deserve prominent display. The same company shortly thereafter banned foreign cars from its parking lot, presumably because the cars were made of foreign steel.

"The contrast between American and European businessmen is vast," the president of an Italian food company noted recently. "The big American corporations remind me of a Jesuit order."

This aura of solemnity makes itself felt among the ad men, who are always supersensitive to the moods of their clients. Most ad men find it convenient to embrace the doctrine enunciated by Norman Norman, the redundantly named president of Norman, Craig & Kummel, Inc., that "the business of advertising is solely to move goods." And "moving goods" apparently precludes any leavening ingredients.

This approach is safe and tidy, but it doesn't make for particularly inspired advertising. The sales message is presented with professional efficiency—but something is missing.

Perhaps it would all be for the best if businessmen would simply "relax a little," advises Don Herold in his new book, *Humor in Advertising*. They would do well to remember that "advertising is something like hitting a golf ball," says Herold. "It pays to know how, but you mustn't try to sock it too hard."

—PETER BART.

"I was just wishing I could give him a good shaking."

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How to Evade the Issue

By JOHN TEBBEL

AS ALL informed observers agree, it is no easy task to write with authority on a subject when the writer has a) no real information, b) no right to publish, or c) no qualifications to write of at all. On the other hand, it is not impossible. It is, in fact, done every day by a variety of commentators whose names we are not presently able to disclose.

The intention is to evade the issue while seeming to grapple with it boldly, a kind of reportorial oneupmanship in which a smokescreen of rhetoric is laid down to disguise the fact that the writer is either unable or unwilling to attribute what he is saying to a specific source, including himself.

Everyone is familiar with the most common evasion—so common that one wonders why this deception, which deceives no one, is permitted to continue by a press which often congratulates itself on its honesty and integrity. We have seen it so frequently, in its several forms: "A White House spokesman said . . ." Sometimes it is a President sending up a trial balloon directly from his own launching pad; sometimes it is a Presidential press secretary who has been delegated to do the job. In either case it is generally recognized by informed citizens that the President is saying something for which he does not wish to be directly charged.

High policy may justify some of these top-echelon evasions, but the ridiculous sets in when this particular kind of pussyfooting emerges at a lower level—in the mayor's office, let us say—and a city hall reporter writes a sentence that begins, "A source close to the mayor said today . . ." (Translation: "The press secretary or somebody else in His Honor's retinue told the reporter, 'Now for God's sake, don't get us in trouble with the Council, but this is what the old boy really intends to do. And remember, it's off the record.' ")

A more common form of evasion, according to some authorities, is the writing of a story which is based on no more than an unconfirmed rumor. To place the illustration in a most unlikely setting, let us suppose that Senator George Blatherskite, chairman of the powerful Committee on the Exportation of Peanuts, is about to introduce a bill that would double the export of peanuts to Russia, a move designed to give the Kremlin something to chew on and at the same time increase the bank accounts of the Senator's peanut-growing constituency. Since it would be politically dangerous to give the Russians anything but a hard time, the Senator means to attach his contribution quietly to a porkbarrel appropriations bill.

The rumor of this maneuver is conveyed casually at the Press Club by a reporter who remarks to his friend Frank Doublespace, the noted political columnist, "I hear George Blatherskite wants to give the Reds a double dose of peanuts."

"That so?" says Doublespace, with interest heightened by the scarcity of material for next day's column. "Where'd you hear that?"

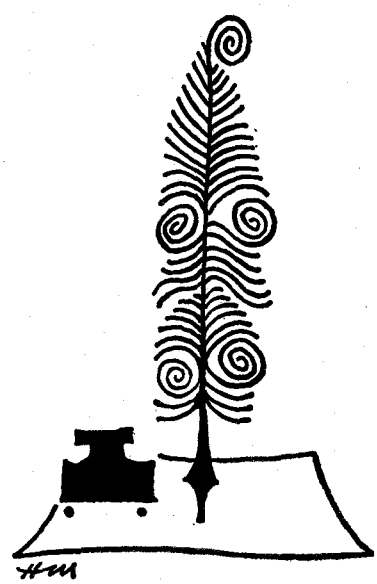
"One of his secretaries had too many martinis at a party I went to last night and let it slip. I'll try to check it out tomorrow."

Doublespace decides not to wait until tomorrow. Equipped with no more than what he has been able to extract from his friend, who got it second-hand, he calls up the Senator, chats a moment, and then asks the question direct.

"I wouldn't have any comment on that at this time," says old George, who is a qualified expert at evading issues himself.

"But if you got such a bill through, it would be a bonanza for the people in your state, wouldn't it?" Doublespace persists.

"We need to keep the employment level moving forward at home," Blatherskite says, automatically elevating his voice slightly toward oratorical level.



"And yet it would be fair to say, wouldn't it," Doublespace pursues, "that increasing the export of peanuts to Russia would give aid and comfort to the enemy in the cold war?"

"The Reds need to be shown more of the benefits of free enterprise working in a democracy according to the American Way devised by the Founding Fathers," Senator Blatherskite says, and adds plaintively, "Now Frank, you know I can't tell you anything more right now. If something breaks on this, you'll be the first to hear about it."

By that time, however, Doublespace is already writing next day's column, which begins: "Capitol Hill may well be the scene of a knockdown fight next month if Senator George Blatherskite introduces a bill to double the export of peanuts to Russia. Washington observers believe the Senator intends to push his controversial measure because he knows it will help relieve unemployment at home and provide the Kremlin with a closer look at the products of a free economy. . . ."

All informed newspaper readers will recognize this pattern readily, and it is probable that they understand, too, if the results of recent surveys are accurate (including one taken only ten minutes ago by this writer), that it is a pattern that is being used more and more to relieve political columnists of responsibility for what they say. It is, in fact, generally agreed by persons close to highly placed sources among the newspaper-reading public that there is a growing national consensus on the matter.

One has the impression, indeed, as the result of several days of doorbell-ringing and street interviewing in various key voting districts, that public life in the United States is fairly well dominated by informed observers who are always close to, or at least not very far away from, sources that have in the past been accurate. Sometimes, unfortunately, and especially in the case of columnists who are passing as foreign correspondents for the time being, the observers are close to the *wrong* sources, in which case there occurs the phenomenon described as the Inside Short Circuit, or ISC, as it is known to those who have seen these hitherto secret classifications.

A splendid example of ISC was offered recently in South Vietnam, where high government sources close to the Diem family—that is, the Diems themselves—assured visiting correspondents that the war was going so well it could almost be said to be won, according to

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the most recent reports from trained observers in the field, and that everything would be fine if only the regular American correspondents on the scene would stop inciting attacks against the government.

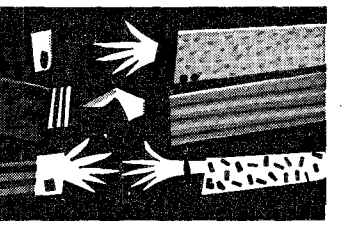
Since it was obviously impossible to find a source any higher or any closer, the visiting thinkers conveyed these results of their in-depth reporting to the eager world at once, pausing only to insert a few paragraphs of condescending reprimand for the poor earthbound correspondents already there who had gummed things up, obviously by listening to the wrong people—sources who were as far away from high government as they could get, for reasons of safety.

One of these visiting experts, who cannot be identified until Air Force security officers decide that disclosure will not seriously imperil the nation's safety, stopped in Taiwan long enough to learn from a highly placed person in the government, whose initials were said by an indiscreet intelligence official to be C. K.-S., that in spite of erroneous reports emanating from correspondents who plainly were not in touch with the field situation, there was no reason to believe everything in Formosa was not in a posture of readiness, as indeed it had been for some time.

It is gratifying to be able to report how close our political analysts are to actual situations and postures, instead of peering at them wistfully through the myopic eyes of less knowledgeable sources who are said to be no better informed than what they can learn from a thorough reading of the *New York Times*. For those analysts who are too busy on the telephone with competent Washington observers who have been observing the political scene for years, there is always the "News of the Week in Review" section of the Sunday *Times*, where an abundant supply of observers is always available, coming either in the large economy informed size, or in the more useful "agreed" sizes.

One must say, in justification of the evaders, that no one who writes is without sin in this respect. It has even been reported there is agreement among the top editorial echelons in this magazine that some observers in the Communications section who write regularly on journalistic problems would be stricken dumb if they were deprived of sources who cannot be quoted directly without getting everybody into trouble. That is true, but as Senator Blatherskite remarked only the other day, "If freedom of the press cannot be defended without overturning our cherished traditions, then I say, let us hew as many chips as possible before adjournment, and if I may quote a source high in Senatorial circles, that ain't peanuts."

Public Relations



Sponsored Films for Schools

SCHOOLS are often overwhelmed with public relations films. Some are useful, but too many are heavily promotional, designed primarily to get company recognition rather than to provide instruction for the student. Many corporations, in fact, have been spending a good deal of money on films which, because they do not pay enough attention to the needs of teachers and students, remain largely unused.

An outstanding exception is the school film program of Shell Oil Company. Soon after the formation of Shell's public relations department in 1941, the film program became the priority project. This decision has paid off in good will because Shell's films have been of value to school systems throughout the country.

Today Shell's film library distributes films to schools and school systems in three categories: science, with thirteen subjects; aviation, with six; and oil, with five. They run from twelve to thirty-three minutes and are essentially educational. Because entertainment value is subordinated to instruction, teachers find them of practical use in their classes.

The science films deal with subjects as varied as an introduction to paleontology, the war between man and insect, the story of fossils, the development of the gas turbine engine, and the theory of hydraulics. The aviation series includes a history of the helicopter, the story of transonic flight, an explanation of how an airplane flies. The oil films deal with such diverse matters as the techniques used in prospecting for oil, refining oil for energy, and "wildcatting" for oil.

In all cases the identification of the company is unobtrusive. At the beginning and end of each film the words "A Shell Film" appear, along with the Shell trade-mark. There is no attempt to hit the viewer on the head with a pitch for the company or its products. Unlike some films used for public relations purposes, there is no attempt to sneak in company plugs within the body of the film.

Just how seriously Shell takes its school film program is shown by the efforts put into organization, distribution, production, and promotion. In many ways the program is strongly influenced by the experience of the Shell Film Unit, organized in the early Thirties by the Shell International Petroleum Company in London. This organization, one of the outstanding makers of documentary films, prepares most of the films for Shell in the United States. To distribute its films, Shell has three film libraries. One is in San Mateo, California, another in Indianapolis, Indiana, and the third in Flushing, New York. A staff of four people at each library handles bookings, shipments, and repairs. Three other full-time people in the New York headquarters oversee the circulation of the 9,000 prints of the twenty-four film subjects.

In addition, Shell has what amounts to a special film library for long-term loans of its films. Under the long-term arrangement, films are loaned to school districts and other educational organizations for three years. One of the stipu-

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"A Reporter Must Trust His Instinct"

By TOM WICKER

I THINK I was in the first press bus. But I can't be sure. Pete Lisagor of the Chicago *Daily News* says he *knows* he was in the first press bus and he describes things that went on aboard it that didn't happen on the bus I was in. But I still *think* I was in the first press bus.

I cite that minor confusion as an example of the way it was in Dallas in the early afternoon of November 22. At first no one knew what happened, or how, or where, much less why. Gradually, bits and pieces began to fall together and within two hours a reasonably coherent version of the story began to be possible. Even now, however, I know no reporter who was there who has a clear and orderly picture of that surrealistic afternoon; it is still a matter of bits and pieces thrown hastily into something like a whole.

It began, for most reporters, when the central fact of it was over. As our press bus eased at motorcade speed down an incline toward an underpass, there was a little confusion in the sparse crowds that at that point had been standing at the curb to see the President of the United States pass. As we came out of the underpass I saw a motorcycle policeman drive over the curb, across an open area, a few feet up a railroad bank, dismount, and start scrambling up the bank.

Jim Mathis of the Advance (Newhouse) Syndicate went to the front of our bus and looked ahead to where the President's car was supposed to be.

"The President's car just sped off," he said. "Really gunned away." (How could Mathis have seen that if there had been another bus in front of us?)

But that could have happened if someone had thrown a tomato at the President. The press bus in its stately pace rolled on to the Trade Mart, where the President was to speak. Fortunately, it was only a few minutes away.

At the Trade Mart, rumor was sweeping the hundreds of Texans already eating their lunch. It was the only rumor that I had ever *seen*; it was moving across that crowd like a wind over a wheatfield. A man eating a grapefruit seized my arm as I passed.

"Has the President been shot?" he asked.

"I don't think so," I said. "But something happened."

With the other reporters—I suppose thirty-five of them—I went on through the huge hall to the upstairs press room. We were hardly there when Marianne Means of Hearst Headline Service hung up a telephone, ran to a group of us, and said, "The President's been shot. He's at Parkland Hospital."

ONE thing I learned that day; I suppose I already knew it, but that day made it plain. A reporter must trust his instinct. When Miss Means said those eight words—I never learned who told her—I knew absolutely that they were true. Everyone did. We ran for the press buses.

Again, a man seized my arm—an official-looking man.

"No running in here," he said sternly. I pulled free and ran on. Doug Kiker of the *Herald Tribune* barreled head-on into a waiter carrying a plate of potatoes. Waiter and potatoes flew about the room. Kiker ran on. He was in his first week with the *Trib*, and his first Presidential trip.

I barely got aboard a moving press bus. Bob Pierrepoint of CBS was aboard, and he said that he now recalled having heard something that could have been shots—or firecrackers, or motorcycle backfire. We talked anxiously, unbelieving, afraid.

Fortunately again, it was only a few minutes to Parkland Hospital. There, at its emergency entrance, stood the President's car, the top up, a bucket of bloody water beside it. Automatically, I took down its license number—GG300 District of Columbia.

The first eyewitness description came from Senator Ralph Yarborough, who had been riding in the third car of the motorcade with Vice President and Mrs. Johnson. Senator Yarborough is an East Texan, which is to say a Southerner, a man of quick emotion, old-fashioned rhetoric.

"Gentlemen," he said, pale, shaken, near tears. "It is a deed of horror."

The details he gave us were good and mostly—as it later proved—accurate. But he would not describe to us the appearance of the President as he was wheeled into the hospital, except to say that he was "gravely wounded." We could not doubt, then, that it was serious.

I had chosen that day to be without a notebook. I took notes on the back of my mimeographed schedule of the two-day tour of Texas we had been so near to concluding. Today, I cannot read many of the notes; on November 22, they were as clear as sixty-point type.

A local television reporter, Mel Crouch, told us he had seen a rifle being withdrawn from the fifth- or sixth-floor corner window of the Texas School Book Depository. Instinct again – Crouch sounded right, positive, though none of us knew him. We believed it and it was right.

Mac Kilduff, an assistant White House press secretary in charge of the press on that trip, who was to acquit himself well that day, came out of the hospital. We gathered round and he told us the President was alive. We later learned that it wasn't true, but Mac thought it was true at the time, and he didn't mislead us about a possible recovery. His whole demeanor made plain what was likely to happen. He also told us—as Senator Yarborough had—that Governor John Connally of Texas had been shot, too.

Salisbury told me to use the phone and take no chances on a wire circuit being jammed or going wrong. Stop reporting and start writing in time to meet the deadline, he said. Pay anyone $50 if necessary to dictate for you.

The whole conversation probably took three minutes. Then I hung up, thinking of all there was to know, all there was I didn't know. I wandered down a corridor and ran into Sidney and Chuck Roberts of *Newsweek*. They'd seen a hearse pulling up at the emergency entrance, and we figured they were about to move the body.

We made our way to the hearse—a Secret Service agent who knew us helped us through suspicious Dallas police lines—and the driver said his instructions were to take the body to the airport. That confirmed our hunch, but gave me, at least, another wrong one. Mr. Johnson, I declared, would fly to Washington with the body and be sworn in there.

We posted ourselves inconspicuously

Tom Wicker, a member of the *New York Times* White House staff, was the only *Times* reporter in Dallas when President Kennedy was assassinated. This article appears here through special arrangement with *Times Talk*, that newspaper's employee publication, for which Mr. Wicker wrote his recollections of November 22.

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near the emergency entrance. Within minutes, they brought the body out in a bronze coffin.

A number of White House staff people—stunned, silent, stumbling along as if dazed—walked with it. Mrs. Kennedy walked by the coffin, her hand on it, her head down, her hat gone, her dress and stockings spattered. She got into the hearse with the coffin. The staff men crowded into cars and followed.

That was just about the only incident that I got with my own eyes that entire afternoon.

Roberts commandeered a seat in a police car and followed, promising to "fill" Sidney and me as necessary. We made the same promise to him and went back to the press room.

There, we received an account from Julian Reed, a staff assistant, of Mrs. John Connally's recollection of the shooting. Most of his recital was helpful and established who was sitting in which seat in the President's car at the time of the shooting.

The doctors who had treated the President came in after Mr. Reed. They gave us copious detail, particularly as to the efforts they had made to resuscitate the President. They were less explicit about the wounds, explaining that the body had been in their hands only a short time and they had had little time to examine it closely. They conceded they were unsure as to the time of death and had arbitrarily put it at 1 P.M., CST.

Much of their information, as it developed later, was erroneous. Subsequent reports made it pretty clear that Mr. Kennedy probably was killed instantly. His body, as a physical mechanism, however, continued to flicker an occasional pulse and heartbeat. No doubt this justified the doctors' first account. There also was the question of national security and Mr. Johnson's swearing-in. Perhaps, too, there was a question about the Roman Catholic rites. In any case, until a later doctors' statement about 9 o'clock that night, the account we got at the hospital was official.

The doctors had hardly left before Hawks came in and told us Mr. Johnson would be sworn in immediately at the airport. We dashed for the press buses, still parked outside. Many a campaign had taught me something about press buses and I ran a little harder, got there first, and went to the wide rear seat. That is the best place on a bus to open up a typewriter and get some work done.

On the short trip to the airport, I got about 500 words on paper—leaving a blank space for the hour of Mr. Johnson's swearing-in, and putting down the mistaken assumption that the scene would be somewhere in the terminal. As we arrived at a back gate along the airstrip, we could see *Air Force One*, the Presidential jet, screaming down the runway and into the air.

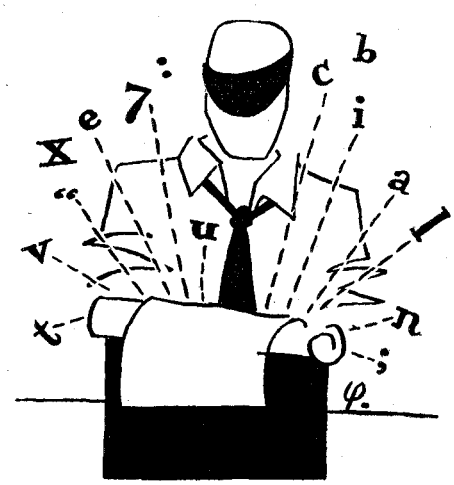
Left behind had been Sid Davis of Westinghouse Broadcasting, one of the few reporters who had been present for the swearing-in. Roberts, who had guessed right in going to the airport when he did, had been there, too, and was aboard the plane on the way to Washington.

Davis climbed on the back of a shiny new car that was parked near where our bus halted. I hate to think what happened to its trunk deck. He and Roberts—true to his promise—had put together a magnificent "pool" report on the swearing-in. Davis read it off, answered questions, and gave a picture that, so far as I know, was complete, accurate, and has not yet been added to.

I said to Kiker of the *Trib*: "We better go write. There'll be phones in the terminal." He agreed. Bob Manning, an ice-cool member of the White House transportation staff, agreed to get our bags off the press plane, which would return to Washington as soon as possible, and put them in a nearby telephone booth.

Kiker and I ran a half-mile to the terminal, cutting through a baggage-handling room to get there. I went immediately to a phone booth and dictated my 500-word lead, correcting it as I read, embellishing it, too. Before I hung up, I got Salisbury and asked him to cut into my story whatever the wires were filing on the assassin. There was no time left to chase down the Dallas police and find out those details on my own.

Dallas Love Field has a mezzanine running around its main waiting room; it is equipped with writing desks for travelers. I took one and went to work. My recollection is that it was then about 5 P.M., New York time. . .



I would write two pages, run down the stairs, across the waiting room, grab a phone, and dictate. Miraculously, I never had to wait for a phone booth or to get a line through. Dictating each take, I would throw in items I hadn't written, sometimes whole paragraphs. It must have been tough on the dictating room crew.

Once, while in the booth dictating, I looked up and found twitching above me the imposing mustache of Gladwin Hill. He was the first *Times* man in and had found me right off; I was seldom more glad to see anyone. We conferred quickly and he took off for the police station; it was a tremendous load off my mind to have that angle covered and out of my hands.

I was half through, maybe more, when I heard myself paged. It turned out to be Kiker, who had been separated from me and was working in the El Dorado room, a bottle club in the terminal. My mezzanine was quieter and a better place to work, but he had a TV going for him, so I moved in, too.

The TV helped in one important respect. I took down from it an eye-witness account of one Charles Drehm, who had been waving at the President when he was shot. Instinct again: Drehm sounded positive, right, sure of what he said. And his report was the first real indication that the President probably was shot twice.

Kilduff promised more details in five minutes and went back into the hospital. We were barred. Word came to us second-hand—I don't remember exactly how—from Bob Clark of ABC, one of the men who had been riding in the press "pool" car near the President's, that he had been lying face down in Mrs. Kennedy's lap when the car arrived at Parkland. No signs of life.

That is what I mean by instinct. That day, a reporter had none of the ordinary means or time to check and double-check matters given as fact. He had to go on what he knew of people he talked to, what he knew of human reaction, what two isolated "facts" added to in sum—above all on what he felt in his bones. I knew Clark and respected him. I took his report at face value, even at second hand. It turned out to be true. In a crisis, if a reporter can't trust his instinct for truth, he can't trust anything.

When Wayne Hawks of the White House staff appeared to say that a press room had been set up in a hospital classroom at the left rear of the building, the group of reporters began struggling across the lawn in that direction. I lingered to ask a motorcycle policeman if he had heard on his radio anything about the pursuit or capture of the as-

(*Continued on page* 86)

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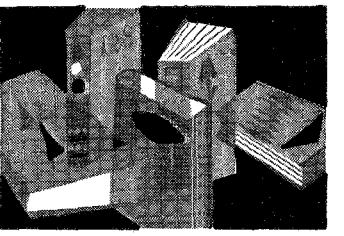
Books in Communications

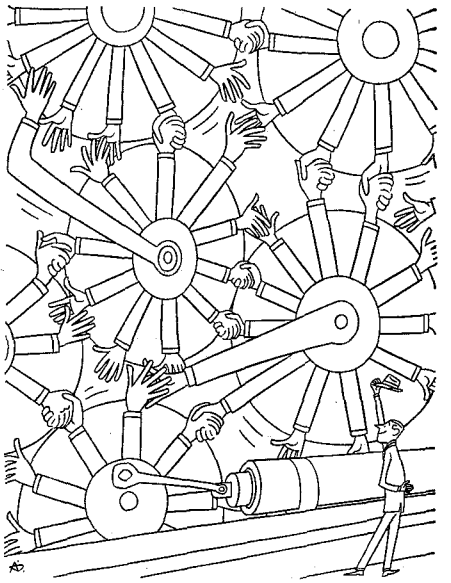


Beating the Drums

PUBLIC RELATIONS is often a private horror. In the United States today, according to one estimate, over 100,000 full-time PR people are beating the drums, each in some specialty he has lovingly staked out as his very own; by 1970, the number may swell to as many as 250,000. Obviously, for the corporation seeking PR help, it's a big, wide, wonderful world, but it's also a headache. In order to shape its relations with its many publics, a company is frequently obliged to surround itself with a whole constellation of PR firms, each of which remains blissfully unconcerned about what its fellows are up to. The result can be a little like a car with a separate driver for each wheel.

At least one PR man, however, predicts that all this is coming to an end. He is William Safire, a thirty-four-year-old iconoclast who argues in *The Relations Explosion* (Macmillan, $4.95) that the chaotic proliferation of PR agencies is ultimately going to give way to a new communications concept that will "fuse together all the relations services to deal cohesively with all the publics that any business has to serve." The change, he says, will be painful but, for those firms able to stay afloat on this wave of the future, profitable enough to make the old days seem like a bad dream.

The pressure for such amalgamation is coming from what Safire calls the "maverick manager," a new breed of business generalist who doesn't give a hang for the traditional compartments of corporate communication—industrial relations, stockholder relations, employee relations, and the like. He simply wants measurable results and doesn't care which department achieves them. Thinking in terms of (to use Safire's military analogy) missions rather than hardware, he will freely roam across established boundaries in pursuit of his goal—and in the process will no doubt send a good many old-line PR men scurrying straight back to the newspaper business. The result of this pressure will be a new kind of PR man, the author predicts, a scholarly chap schooled in the trade and in the sociological exotica of Festinger, Lazarsfeld, and Reisman. And—who knows?—he may even wear a white coat and goatee. In PR, as any PR man can tell you, anything can happen. (Even, indeed, such a piece of vividly metaphorical writing as this soaring flight of Safire's: "All the relations services will find themselves as reluctant bedfellows, because individual mistresses located all over Baghdad can never compete for a caliph's attention like an under-one-roof harem.")



—From "The Relations Explosion."

One view of public relations—"a separate driver for each wheel."

The author's main argument is persuasive enough, but the bulk of *The Relations Explosion* is too much like hash: not so much prepared as accumulated. There are long chapters of anecdote (one of which tells of the author's own role in the Nixon-Khrushchev "Kitchen Debate" in 1959), chapters about an imaginary PR combine of a generation hence, and even some nice little diagrams of levers that could have been lifted right out of your babysitter's physics book ("Leverage, it would appear, means many things to many people . . ."). Safire's thesis may make a few old handshake-and-backslap PR men think of taking the cure, but others are likely to find that what was intended as strong medicine is too diluted to bother with.

Inside View: Public relations as it is today, rather than as it may be someday, is the concern of John W. Hill in *The Making of a Public Relations Man* (McKay, $4.95). Hill, who got his start on Midwestern newspapers just after the turn of the century, later moved to a trade paper and from there, almost by accident, fell into the fledgling PR trade. It's a lively tale he tells, full of revealing and sometimes charming recollections that will prove valuable to anyone with a hankering to emulate a man who, as chairman of the board at Hill and Knowlton, has seen his agency grow to be one of the biggest in the field. And his explanation of what public relations is all about is refreshingly remote from those ubiquitous bogeymen, the hidden persuaders: "In its modern sense, public relations was brought into being by the ever-increasing complexity of the economic, social, and political problems that have assailed the human race since World War I. Its roots are fixed in the basic fact that public opinion, confused, obscure, and unpredictable as it may often seem, is the ultimate ruling force in the free world. A fundamental function of public relations is to help public opinion reach conclusions by providing it with facts and interpretations of facts."

—JAMES F. FIXX.

This Smallness

By Harold Witt

THIS smallness has a hunger at the heart—
she gropes and grasps and rolls her blindnesses,
working her featherweight of hands and feet,
a mouth of iron pulled by the magnet breast.

Hers is the first perfection of desire,
of subtler lusts, the blatant purity,
for what she wants, the tiny shameless crier
and pink demander of security,

so lately nothing but our reaching out
in love and wonder; then, as in web-thick air,
a flash of petals—and the world of doubt
blooms with the balance of her being there.

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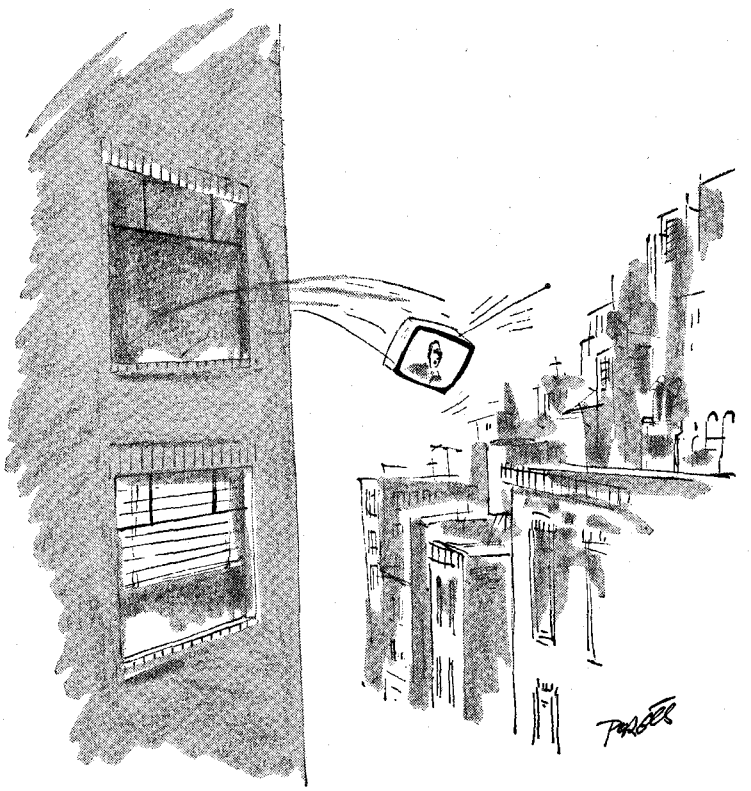

". . . The views expressed on this program do not necessarily reflect the opinions of this station. . . ."

Letters to the Communications Editor

Continued from page 74

"Authentic" in Alabama and "authentic" elsewhere may mean two very different things. I find no fault with a Negro player filling many roles in Shakespeare (quite aside from Othello, who for many years was played by a white actor in makeup), or being cast as a judge, or a doctor, or an engineer, or just another couple in a non-Harlem neighborhood. If this does not appear "authentic" in a setting that still considers such situations unreal, then the problem is with the viewer, not the actor or the casting director.

I do not impugn Mr. Davenport's good intentions, but it is quite possible that his measure for authenticity may be colored (influenced, that is) by the environment in which he lives.

MICHAEL SCOTT.

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Kudos for Bart

PETER BART'S article "Mavericks on Madison Avenue" [*SR*, Dec. 14] is one of the best views of that much-maligned, easily malignable, but very real and vital avenue, profession, and way of life that I have ever seen anywhere.

EDWARD STEPHENS,
Assistant Professor of Advertising,
Northwestern University.

Evanston, Ill.

HAS ANYONE else been following the "Letters to the Communications Editor" in *Saturday Review*? Readers have been discussing the Peter Bart article about the silly Lucky Strike campaign where the male chorus sings "Luckies separate the men from the boys, but not from the girls . . ." The campaign, of course, is a placation by Luckies to "gain maximum public relations impact at minimum sacrifice."

All of this might be temporary and shrug-off-able except that one of the irate letter-writers is none-other-than Maurine B. Neuberger, U.S. Senator, Oregon. And she writes: "Continued monitoring of the tobacco companies' advertisements since their pious announcement of 'good judgment and good taste' indicates that in spite of the statement 'smoking is a pleasure meant for adults' the appeal is nevertheless 1) to smoke is to be an adult, and consequently 2) to smoke is to acquire girls. So far the self-regulation campaign of the industry offers little prospect for control without the government regulation that Mr. Bart comments on."

(If there is anything our much-maligned industry does *not* need, it is an angry Lady Senator and more "government regulation.") We can only hope that Mr. Lucky will try again. Harder. Isn't there some way we can set the tobacco advertisers adrift from the rest of advertising? What a pity if they caused regulations which affected some of the serious and honest advertisers.

—From *Western Advertising*,
November 1963

Public Relations

Continued from page 80

lations is that the groups must show each print of the Shell films at least twice a month. The plan has many advantages. Films can be provided quickly to schools and other audiences. If a film needs extensive repairs it is shipped at once to the closest film library, and once every three years all permanent loan centers return all prints to Shell libraries for cleaning and inspection.

The inventory of the 350 long-term loan centers is some 3,000 prints. The Los Angeles school system, for example, has 225 prints of the Shell films, which are shown to more than 1,350,000 students a year; the Chicago Board of Education has fifty prints, shown to an annual audience of some 228,000; Ohio's Department of Education has eighty-six prints, shown to an annual audience of 403,000; New York City's Board of Education has ninety-three prints, shown to an annual audience of nearly 500,000.

TO promote its films, Shell keeps a mailing list of about 100,000 addresses and mails film catalogues twice a year. When a new film is added to the library, a promotion folder is prepared and mailed to all individuals and organizations that may be interested in seeing it.

What are the results? In 1962 Shell's three film libraries made nearly 100,000 shipments of films. The 1963 figures are not in final form, but the estimate for that year is 110,000 shipments. It is worth noting, too, that the 100,000 shipments for 1962 provided more than 330,000 showings to a total audience of 16,614,548.

Arranging free television showings of sponsored films was at one time an important public relations enterprise. In the early days of TV, before movies became available, many stations used sponsored films. Although this is, of course, less true today, Shell has reports of some fifty separate telecasts of a number of its films in 1962, to an audience of more than 2,000,000. The 1963 figures are not yet complete.

In addition to its educational films, Shell prepares other films for other public relations purposes. Nevertheless, more than 85 per cent of all Shell films are used in junior high schools, senior high schools, colleges, and other educational institutions. The program unquestionably does the job it is intended to do. But it couldn't without thinking, planning, hard work, and—above all—a willingness to put the students' and teachers' needs first.

—L. L. L. GOLDEN.

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Brucker

Continued from page 77

vast wire services, are left back on the beach.

Wes Gallagher, general manager of the Associated Press, puts the defects of pool coverage into pungent words:

"The Associated Press represents not only hundreds of newspapers and radio and television stations in this country but thousands abroad. The same situation exists for the UPI and Reuters. Most of these members are solely dependent upon the press associations for their news and would in no case be in a position to send their individual reporters.

"The Associated Press will have to provide on the Ruby trial, for example, continuous, almost word-for-word coverage, frequent leads to meet deadlines in every section of the world, and a running colored description of the trial as a bare minimum. There will be hundreds of special requests to handle. Such coverage cannot be executed by one man in a pool position, nor could it be executed by three or four non-AP reporters serving as pool observers, because they simply are not familiar with the needs of our type of coverage.

"In other words, instead of having Pat Morin, Saul Pett, and a couple of others fulfilling our members' needs, the pool arrangement could result in hundreds of newspapers depending on the reportorial skills of Joe Glotz of the Toonerville *Blatt*. This is not the type of service the members of AP should receive."

What we need is not an arbitrary, minuscule pool chosen by lot, but a rule of reason adapted to the specific situation at hand. Most of the time we need not settle for impossibly small pool coverage. But we could have coverage limited to what common sense suggests. If there is place for but one reporter on a wartime bombing mission over Berlin, or for none at all when President Johnson takes the Presidential oath in that jet waiting to take him and the body of his predecessor back to Washington, then so it must be. But it need not be so on a Garst farm, or in a thousand and one situations ahead in which there is also risk that a mob of reporters will get in the way of the event they are supposed to cover.

The principal difficulty is, of course, numbers—the multiplication of reporters, still photographers, TV interviewers, cameramen, technicians, messengers, and hangers-on far beyond the point necessary to give saturation coverage. J. Russell Wiggins, editor of the Washington *Post*, put his finger on the trouble a few years ago:

"No one wishes to stifle the sort of reportorial rivalry that is the life blood of competition and the spur to news and editorial excellence. But who has ever watched a Presidential or a Cabinet press conference, witnessed a fire or a flood, chronicled a political speech, or covered a disaster without vaguely wondering just how many lads it takes to watch one rat hole?"

Does it really take 50, or 100, or 200 newsmen and photographers, plus attendant technical crews to cover even the greatest event in the world?

It seems to me that this question puts a responsibility on the press. First, we must be aware of the danger—a danger to ourselves as well as to the course of justice and public order. Second, we must do something about it in advance when trouble casts its shadow before. Obviously no one can anticipate an assassination, or any other unexpected, explosive event. But a Khrushchev tour, a Jack Ruby trial, an unusually spectacular speech or appearance or press conference can be anticipated. Then the newsmen themselves, taking responsibility for their own arrangements in consultation with the authorities, *can* keep things in control.

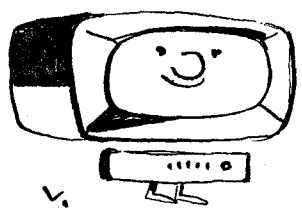
Suppose Judge Brown of Dallas, the one scheduled to preside at the Ruby trial, had opened his court to all the modern means of reporting, including TV, on the logical ground that this is what public trial means in the modern day. Even though ground rules have yet to be pioneered, and refined in light of experience, such coverage by electronic journalism does not necessarily mean repeating the scene that made the original opening of the Billie Sol Estes trial a mockery of justice. There, half a dozen TV cameras dominated the proceedings, three microphones stuck their snouts into the judge's face, and cables cluttered the room. To what purpose? Only to serve ignorance and inexperience. The courtroom was later cleaned up and made orderly, with no appreciable lessening in coverage.

Why, in future trials, cannot two cameras or even one, decently behind a screen or wall, using a telephoto lens, report to the public everything that goes on? Why can't, say, four still photographers, from equally inconspicuous vantage points, do the same for the papers and magazines, with relief men working in relays as need be? As for word reporters, the nature of their tools makes them quiet and unobtrusive. But again they need not be multiplied beyond all reason. Why is it not possible to provide facilities in the courtroom, first of all, for limited but fully adequate staffs from the wire services? Why cannot the local newspapers, and the nation's great newspapers, come next? Why cannot even other newspaper groups, qualified to provide distinctive reports, have their full view as well?

Some such arrangement should not overcrowd a courtroom suited to the occasion. But it should serve everyone who has a legitimate need to be served. Why then should it also be necessary to admit the Podunk *Press* just because its publisher and his wife take a notion to see the show? Why admit every Tom, Dick, and Joe Doakes of dubious qualifications who can wangle press credentials, until the tail of coverage wags the dog of the trial?

Sure, sure, any limitation of any kind is the camel's nose of censorship under the tent of freedom. This is not a venture to be entered into lightly. But we should be able to trust the representatives of the press themselves not to betray the freedom that gives their lives meaning.

The danger, I submit, is not as great as it seems. Let us think back for a moment to why we have freedom of the press, to why men struggled for centuries to get it and perfect it, as they must struggle still. Today, as before, our Supreme Court sees to it that we maintain this freedom despite its cacophony of sometimes abusive voices. For the purpose of freedom of the press is big.



It is to ferret out hidden facts, or the not-yet-realized significance of events. It is the history of the race that only thus, by allowing unorthodox news and views to be published freely, can error be detected and corrected before it is too late. By permitting all kinds of facts and opinions to be offered in the market place of ideas, society is able to choose from among them all that course it deems wisest.

This is a priceless value. We dare not allow any requirement of decorum or even of public order to limit it. But why should that mean also that we must allow regiments of reporters, photographers, broadcasters, and their camp followers to multiply without limit or purpose? They all see the same thing. And all they do is get in each others' way, if indeed they do not distort or besmirch the event whose independent course they are supposed to chronicle.

Publishing an infinite variety of news and views is one thing. A thousand eyes on a single event is another. Just how many lads *does* it take to watch one rat hole?

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Reporter's Instinct

Continued from page 82

sassin. He hadn't, and I followed the other reporters.

As I was passing the open convertible in which Vice President and Mrs. Johnson and Senator Yarborough had been riding in the motorcade, a voice boomed from its radio:

"The President of the United States is dead. I repeat—it has just been announced that the President of the United States is dead."

There was no authority, no word of who had announced it. But—instinct again—I believed it instantly. It sounded true. I knew it was true. I stood still a moment, then began running.

Ordinarily, I couldn't jump a tennis net if I'd just beaten Gonzales. That day, carrying a briefcase and a typewriter, I jumped a chain fence looping around the drive, not even breaking stride. Hugh Sidey of *Time*, a close friend of the President, was walking slowly ahead of me.

"Hugh," I said, "the President's dead. Just announced on the radio. I don't know who announced it but it sounded official to me."

Sidey stopped, looked at me, looked at the ground. I couldn't talk about it. I couldn't think about it. I couldn't do anything but run on to the press room. Then I told others what I had heard.

Sidey, I learned a few minutes later, stood where he was a minute. Then he saw two Catholic priests. He spoke to them. Yes, they told him, the President was dead. They had administered the last rites. Sidey went on to the press room and spread that word, too.

Throughout the day, every reporter on the scene seemed to me to do his best to help everyone else. Information came only in bits and pieces. Each man who picked up a bit or a piece passed it on. I know no one who held anything out. Nobody thought about an exclusive; it didn't seem important.

After perhaps ten minutes when we milled around in the press room—my instinct was to find the new President, but no one knew where he was—Kilduff appeared red-eyed, barely in control of himself. In that hushed classroom, he made the official, the unbelievable announcement. The President was dead of a gunshot wound in the brain. Lyndon Johnson was safe, in the protective custody of the Secret Service. He would be sworn in as soon as possible.

Kilduff, composed as a man could be in those circumstances, promised more details when he could get them, then left. The search for phones began. Jack Gertz, traveling with us for AT&T, was frantically moving them by the dozen into the hospital but few were ready yet.

I wandered down the hall, found a doctor's office, walked in, and told him I had to use his phone. He got up without a word and left. I battled the hospital switchboard for five minutes and finally got a line to New York—Hal Faber on the other end, with Harrison Salisbury on an extension.

They knew what had happened, I said. The death had been confirmed. I proposed to write one long story as quickly as I could, throwing in everything I could learn. On the desk, they could cut it up as they needed—throwing part into other stories, putting other facts into mine. But I would file a straight narrative without worrying about their editing needs.

Reporters always fuss at editors and always will. But Salisbury and Faber are good men to talk to in a crisis. They knew what they were doing and realized my problems. I may fuss at them again sometime, but after that day my heart won't be in it. Quickly, clearly, they told me to go ahead, gave me the moved-up deadlines, told me of plans already made to get other reporters into Dallas, but made it plain they would be hours in arriving.

JUST after 7 P.M., New York time, I finished. So did Kiker. Simultaneously we thought of our bags out in that remote phone both. We ran for a taxi and urged an unwilling driver out along the dark airstrip. As we found the place, with some difficulty, an American Airlines man was walking off with the bags. He was going to ship them off to the White House, having seen the tags on them. A minute later and we'd have been stuck in Dallas without even a toothbrush. (Somewhere in the excitement I did lose a raincoat, replacement value $35.)

Kiker and I went to the Dallas *News*. The work wasn't done—I filed a number of inserts later that night, wrote a separate story on the building from which the assassin had fired, tried to get John Herbers, Don Janson, Joe Loftus on useful angles as they drifted in. But when I left the airport, I knew the worst of it was over. The story was filed on time, good or bad, complete or incomplete, and any reporter knows how that feels. They couldn't say I missed the deadline.

It was a long taxi ride to the Dallas *News*. We were hungry, not having eaten since an early breakfast. It was then that I remembered John F. Kennedy's obituary. Last June, Hal Faber had sent it to me for updating. On November 22, it was still lying on my desk in Washington, not updated, not rewritten, a monument to the incredibility of that afternoon in Dallas.

Businessman of Year

Continued from page 46

of the executives were selling off their stock because things were not going well at Chrysler. This could have depressed our stock and troubled our stockholders. We acted publicly, and I believe the public will approve when they understand what actually happened."

This kind of direct, unadorned statement is characteristic of the sixty-three-year-old Love. The words flow with a calm lightness of touch.

It is also characteristic that his public service should be quiet, direct and practical. As a trustee of both Princeton and the University of Pittsburgh, he has had a strong interest in the strength of higher education in this country. To that end he has been active on the Committee for Corporate Support of American Universities. With a minimum of public attention, this committee has raised millions of dollars, mostly in free funds, for twenty-five "mother" universities, those outstanding independent, liberal arts institutions that set the standards for all higher education in this country, whether in teaching, scholarship, faculty salaries, or academic status. In addition he has served actively on the Business Council, the group of leading businessmen that works closely with the federal government from the White House to the various cabinet departments. He has been chairman of the Council's labor-management committee, a post that recognized his successful statesmanship in dealing with labor in the coal industry.

At present he is also working voluntarily with Pennsylvania's Governor William Scranton to attract additional industry to the state to build up its economy and to create more jobs for its residents.

A love of music, reflected in his passionate if technically uncertain playing of the flute, and of golf—he shoots in the high 80s—helps him to relax from his heavy business routine. But he never relaxes from studying the horizon, from dreaming of new opportunities to bring people, principle, and purpose together with capital to generate more progress.

The Harvard Business School recently referred to him as "a responsible businessman in a responsible society." This he obviously is—a highly efficient, resourceful version of the businessman-citizen *SR* regards as essential to the expansion of our economic society and to the quality of life, as well as the standard of living, in America at a time when both our stamina and our character are being challenged by a turbulent world as never before.

—WILLIAM D. PATTERSON.

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(Continued from page 87)

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KINGSLEY DOUBLE-CROSTIC NO. 1553

Reg. U.S. Patent Office

By Doris Nash Wortman

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. The eighth Apostle (Matthew x, 2)	46 81 168 78 29 50 124
B. Capable of being uttered (more familiar in its negative form!)	21 186 94 59 104 157 27
C. Was contingent.	87 96 100 15 155 92 23 177
D. The American wolverine; European animal of greedy habits.	176 185 136 89 36 1 82
E. Poet's word for filled with sweet odors.	68 145 141 55 130 80 16 156
F. Whistler's scornful word for the plea of "the amateur" that two and two sometimes add up to other than four.	54 139 64 175 142
G. Consequence.	162 129 165 115 178 5 152
H. Familiar description of the English boroughs which are short of the right number of inhabitants.	74 128 138 134 37 33
I. The "part of one" performance which Cressida tells Troilus is more than a girl can hope to get.	144 158 45 20 57
J. Town of Azizia, Tripolitania, holds the world's record as this (1922).	117 84 95 49 167 35 73
K. Alternative sp. for the Welsh birthplace of Edward II.	3 111 151 72 43 103 26 135 149

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
L. A judgment or reflection usually considered to be better than some others.	93 31 13 184 113 18 169 77 71 24 166 137
M. A salt of a certain chemical containing tin.	56 11 25 163 91 19 28 47
N. Impregnated with a strongly astringent preservative.	182 146 65 10 114 38 52 131
O. The poetical word meaning flexible.	86 108 180 88 126 119 140
P. Immeasurable expanse of time.	121 42 164 109 2 32 159 75
Q. Describing any marsh lacking grasses of the genus *Sporobolus*.	97 99 143 67 153 40 132 107
R. Art of conducting aircraft in flight from one place to another.	160 51 148 8 90 112 181 70 76
S. English white swine.	83 14 30 120 22 174 41 102
T. Region in the Far North attracting 30,000 people in a gold rush, 1897.	173 122 62 7 61 9 116 171
U. Water removed by surface or under drainage.	170 85 48 12 63 123
V. A hunter's name for the grizzly bear.	34 101 125 53 79 150 179
W. Living in poverty.	147 172 69 58 17 183 133 39 4 105 98
X. Having three heads.	106 60 6 127 44 110 118 66 154 161

DIRECTIONS

To solve this puzzle you must guess twenty-odd WORDS, the definitions of which are given in the column headed DEFINITIONS. Alongside each definition, there is a row of dashes—one for each letter in the required word. When you have guessed a word, write it on the dashes, and also write each letter in the correspondingly numbered square of the puzzle diagram . . . When the squares are all filled in, you will find that you have completed a quotation from some published work. If read up and down, the letters in the diagram have no meaning . . . Black squares indicate ends of words; if there is no black square at the right side of the diagram, the word carries over to the next line . . . When all the WORDS are filled in, their initial letters spell the name of the author and the title of the piece from which the quotation has been taken. Of great help to the solver are this acrostic feature and the relative shapes of words in the diagram as they develop. Authority for spellings and definitions is Webster's New International Dictionary, Second and Third Editions.

			1 D	2 P		3 K	4 W	5 G	6 X	7 T	8 R		9 T	10 N	11 M	12 U	
13 L	14 S	15 C		16 E	17 W	18 L	19 M	20 I	21 B		22 S	23 C		24 L	25 M	26 K	27 B
	28 M	29 A	30 S		31 L	32 P	33 H	34 V	35 J	36 D		37 H	38 N	39 W	40 Q	41 S	42 P
43 K	44 X	45 I	46 A	47 M	48 U	49 J		50 A	51 R	52 N	53 V		54 F	55 E	56 M		57 I
58 W	59 B	60 X	61 T		62 T	63 U		64 F	65 N		66 X	67 Q	68 E		69 W	70 R	71 L
72 K	73 J	74 H	75 P		76 R	77 L	78 A		79 V		80 E	81 A	82 D		83 S	84 J	85 U
86 O	87 C		88 O	89 D	90 R	91 M	92 C		93 L	94 B	95 J	96 C	97 Q		98 W	99 Q	100 C
101 V	102 S	103 K		104 B	105 W	106 X		107 Q	108 O	109 P		110 X	111 K	112 R	113 L	114 N	115 G
116 T		117 J	118 X	119 O	120 S	121 P	122 T	123 U		124 A	125 V	126 O		127 X	128 H	129 G	130 E
131 N		132 Q	133 W	134 H		135 K	136 D	137 L		138 H	139 F	140 O		141 E	142 F	143 Q	144 I
	145 E	146 N	147 W		148 R	149 K		150 V	151 K	152 G	153 Q	154 X	155 C	156 E		157 B	158 I
159 P		160 R	161 X	162 G	163 M	164 P		165 G	166 L	167 J		168 A	169 L	170 U	171 T	172 W	
173 T	174 S	175 F	176 D	177 C	178 G	179 V	180 O		181 R	182 N	183 W	184 L	185 D	186 B			

Solution of last week's Double-Crostic will be found on page 14 of this issue.

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Each position of a windmill's sails has its own meaning. Here, miller Onne has set his sails to show that he and his mill are resting. There are 991 windmills in Holland.

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